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THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1904.

ART. I. — A CONJECTURAL CHAPTER IN THE LIFE OF ST. EDMUND OF CANTERBURY.

IN spite of all the attention which has been devoted of late years to the manuscript materials for the life of St. Edmund,* it must be owned that the earlier portions of that life remain for the most part shrouded in obscurity. That the Saint in early childhood lived at Abingdon; that he spent some years both as a student and as a teacher at Paris, as well as at Oxford; that he returned to stand at the death-bed of his widowed mother, subsequently finding a home for his sisters in the convent of Catesby; and that his youth was profoundly coloured by supernatural influences in the form of visions and other occurrences deemed to be miraculous—these facts almost exhaust our exact knowledge of the life of St. Edmund Rich down to the year 1222. At that date we learn from existing records

* Besides the French life by Père Massé, we have the biographies of Dom Wilfrid Wallace (1893), of Baroness de Paravicini (1898), and still more recently that of Mgr. Bernard Ward (1903), a compilation skilfully pieced together from the words of the mediæval biographers.

that he enjoyed the dignity of "treasurer" in the Cathedral Chapter of Salisbury,* and during the eighteen years of activity which remained to him our information is reliable and fairly abundant. But without attributing any unusual carelessness to the Saint's biographers, it must be said that the earlier and longer portion of his career is illustrated only by fragments of pious legend, from which it is barely possible to extract any sort of chronological sequence. Some of the stories which are in this way handed down to us may be derived from trustworthy sources; but others, on the other hand, are open to grave suspicion. This lack of reliable information is a very important element in the enquiry upon which we are engaged; and before proceeding further, it may be useful to illustrate the uncertainty which besets the whole subject of the Saint's early life, by reference to a definite example.

Of all the incidents connected with St. Edmund's youth, hardly any one is better known than the story of the ring which he placed upon the finger of our Lady's statue at Oxford as a token that he consecrated his virginity to the Mother of God. Nearly all the mediæval lives give prominence to this episode,† and the Saint's modern biographers are not behind hand in investing it with a miraculous character. For instance, after recounting in exact terms the vow made by Edmund as he fitted the ring upon the finger of the statue, Dom Wallace continues: "When his prayer was finished, Edmund wished to remove from our Lady's finger the ring which he had placed there, for he did not wish to attract attention to what had taken place; but to his great surprise, in spite of all the efforts which he made to detach it, the ring would not stir, and he was forced to leave it there."‡ The statue is said henceforth to have become famous in Oxford; and the Franciscan chronicler who wrote about a century later at Lanercost, in Cumberland, avers, according to Mgr. Ward, "that he had

* Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii., p. 645.

† In the *Life of St. Edmund*, preserved to us in the beautiful MS., 226 of Balliol College, Oxford, this story, forming chapter ix., occupies nearly four columns.

‡ Wallace, p. 51.

himself, together with the whole University, often seen the ring still on the statue."*

Now, curiously enough, just half a century before the birth of St. Edmund, we find the most literary Englishman of his day, William of Malmesbury, recounting precisely such another tale, which he had evidently derived from pagan classical sources, about a certain Roman youth and the goddess Venus.† There are no doubt several divergent details, but the central fact is the same, viz., that the ring placed on the statue's finger was miraculously held fast, and was taken as a pledge of constancy to her whom the statue represented. Moreover, the story thus told by Malmesbury clearly did not fall dead upon the imagination of his readers. It was forthwith Christianized, and our Lady's statue having been substituted for that of Venus, the tale became widely popular at the beginning of the thirteenth century, if not earlier, as an item in the numberless collections of the miracles of our Lady, which were then in their greatest vogue. Gautier de Coincy, a French versifier, who narrated a number of these stories in rhyme about the year 1222, is particularly full in his account *du clerc qui mist l'anel ou doi Nostre Dame*, and he tells us how quickly and firmly the statue doubled back its finger when the ring was put on :

" L'ymage lors isnelement
Ploia son doi si fermement
Que nus ne l'en peust retraire
S'il ne vousist l'anel defaire."

But this French poem, like all the rest produced by Gautier, was merely the translation of a prose Latin original. Dr. Mussafia has printed the Latin text from a manuscript of the thirteenth century,‡ though the version itself must be

* Ward, p. 15. † Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Series) i., 256.

‡ MS. Paris, lat. 18,134, printed in the *Denkschriften* of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, vol. 44, p. 36. The Latin corresponding to the words cited above runs thus: "Quo facto, predicta imago mox digitum suum plicuit ita fortiter ut anulus nullo modo posset extrahi nisi digito scisso vel confracto." Several other Latin versions of the same story are in existence, including one by Vincent of Beauvais (*ob.* 1264). Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, ii., p. 626, summarises the story in the words: "How a youth placed his ring on the finger of an image of the Virgin, and the hand of the image closed on it; how in spite of good advice he married; how the image with the ring seemed to intervene between him and his bride; and how he became a monk."

older. What is quite beyond doubt is that Gautier's tale did not come from any report of what had happened to St. Edmund, but was derived, at least ultimately, from the older pagan setting. Several details are retained in the French poem of 1222 which form part of the Venus story, and which do not appear in, and could not in any way belong to, the Edmudian version.* We must take it, I think, as indisputable that at the period when the future Saint and Archbishop was still a boy, the story of "the clerk who put the ring on our Lady's finger" was already in circulation both in England and France.

Are we then forced to conclude that the whole episode as recounted in *St. Edmund's Life* is a pure invention? That this must be recognised as a possibility is, I think, inevitable; but a simpler and more satisfactory explanation is suggested by the Pontigny biography.† Anyone who reads carefully therein the account given of the ring episode will perceive that the writer, while claiming to base his story on the Saint's own testimony, does not really suggest that any other miracle took place than that from the day of these espousals our Lady ever showed herself a faithful protectress.‡ He says nothing of the ring being held fast; on the contrary, he implies that Edmund had the *Ave Maria* engraved on the ring because he intended to leave it there, while he kept a duplicate himself in memory of this

* I note such points as these. In the Venus story the youth wishes to play ball, and places his betrothal ring on the statue's finger in order to keep it safe. The same motive and occasion appear in the various Christianised versions, both Latin and French. In the Venus story again, the goddess is jealous of an earthly rival, and the statue thrusts itself between the young man and his bride on their wedding night. A similar incident occurs in the Christianized version, though, as the statue is that of our Lady, the coarser features of the tale are naturally avoided. In St. Edmund's case there is, of course, no question of any rival love. It may be added that in the old Norse collection of Mary stories (*Mariu Saga*) of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this incident is included, having been extracted from one of the lives of St. Edmund. In this case the story is told as we know it, and it is given formally under St. Edmund's name. (See Unger's edition of the *Mariu Saga* in the *Norske Oldskriftselskabs Samlinger*).

† I use this for want of a better name to designate the life printed by Martène. It is the longest and fullest of all the mediaeval sources; and as it speaks of William Raleigh, Bishop of Winchester, as still living, it must have been written before the year 1250. Martène attributes the authorship to Bertrand, the Saint's secretary; the Baroness de Paravicini believes it to be by Robert Rich, the Saint's brother.

‡ Martène, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, iii., p. 178.

troth plighting. In this way we are left free to believe that it was precisely because the boy Edmund had read the story of the ring in Malmesbury or in the Miracles of our Lady that the idea came to him of pledging himself to his heavenly spouse by this device. Of course, the Saint's later biographers, thinking to improve the story, made the incident miraculous; but even they do not lay stress upon the statue's bending its finger, which is so conspicuous a feature in the Mary legend. Let me add that the Lanercost chronicler, if we examine his words carefully,* does not pretend himself to have seen the ring. He declares that he had often seen the statue to which the tradition was attached, and that many people saw the ring after St. Edmund left it there—which is not precisely the same thing.

It may also conveniently be noted here that in telling the story of the apparition of St. John, who threatened the young Edmund with a ferula for omitting to say the prayer *O Intemerata*, which the lad was accustomed to recite, some of the biographers give the impression that the prayer was one which St. Edmund had himself composed, or which he had learnt by divine revelation. Monsignor Ward says, in fact: "The prayer to our Lady and St. John, known from its first words as *O Intemerata*, was written by St. Edmund himself, and afterwards became known throughout Europe." That this cannot be strictly accurate appears from the fact that the prayer *O Intemerata* is to be found in a manuscript of the twelfth century in the British Museum (Addit. 35112), which we know to have belonged to the library of Tournai about the year 1180.† Moreover, a number of fantastic Mary stories, recounted by Gautier de Coincy, and others still earlier than he, turn on the efficacy of this same *O Intemerata*, which evidently was in high estimation before St. Edmund's time. The details are quite different from those of the story about St. John and the

* "Nam in exemplum munditiæ illibatae istud primo occurrit, quod puerulus intendens Oxoniæ grammaticalibus, gloriosæ Virginis imaginem, quam sæpe, et una cum tota Universitate, vidimus, clam desponsavit, imposito digito Virginis aureo annulo, quod (*sic*) multi postea oculis conspexerunt." *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 36.

† See a manuscript note in the British Museum Catalogue which refers to Delisle, *Cabinet. des Manuscrits*, vol. ii., appendix xii., No. 147.

ferula,* but one cannot help suspecting that in one case, as in the other, the foundation of fact is likely to be of the slenderest.

But it is especially when we come to the question of names and dates that the mediæval lives of St. Edmund, numerous as they are, prove so unsatisfactory. Of the Saint's father and brothers nothing need now be said, since I shall have occasion to refer to the subject later; but I wish to point out from the outset that the chronology of Edmund's early days is, practically speaking, a blank. Not only are we ignorant of the date of his birth, but there is not a single incident, *e.g.*, the death of his father or mother, the taking of his degree, the commencement of his lectures at Oxford or Paris, his ordination to the priesthood, etc., which can even approximately be connected with a definite year. The most important question is the date of his birth. Dom Wallace suggests c. 1180; and Mgr. Ward, *faute de mieux*, adopts this and some other conjectures, but with the pointed caution that "none of the Saint's biographers give any dates, and the details available are wholly insufficient to enable us to form more than a rough guess."† In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, on the other hand, Mr. Thomas Arnold inclines to the year 1170. Seeing that no positive fact can be quoted on the other side, Mr. Arnold's line of argument appears to me a sound one. He points out that Walter de Grey, Archbishop of York, who died a very old man in 1255, gave formal testimony that he was St. Edmund's pupil when the latter was lecturing in arts.‡ Now Walter de Grey obtained the important office of Chancellor of England in 1205, was elected Bishop in 1210, was sent as ambassador to Flanders in 1213, and became Archbishop of York when at Rome, with the full approval of Innocent III., in 1215. These dates render it unlikely that De Grey was born later than 1178, for no one seems to have objected to his appointment to any of these offices on the score of

* See Mussafia in the Vienna *Denkschriften*, vol. 44, pp. 39-42; and *cf.* MS. Addit. 35112, fol. 54 and fol. 102.

† Ward, p. 251.

‡ He does not say where. I am inclined to think it was in Paris, though he must have met him again later when Edmund was at Oxford.

his youth. The presumption is that Edmund was notably older than his pupil, and we cannot therefore assign his birth to a much later date than 1170.* Of course, nothing can be affirmed with certainty when such round-about methods have to be employed, but I claim that 1170 has at least as much probability in its favour as any other year which has been suggested.

And now it is time to introduce to the reader's notice that series of remarkable, if not preternatural, incidents which I am bold enough to connect conjecturally with the early history of St. Edmund Rich. The story in its first stages comes to us on the authority of the famous *Magna Vita* of St. Hugh of Lincoln. The sequel must be read in a separate document, best known as the *Visio Monachi de Eynsham*. Both works had the same author, viz., Adam, sub-prior, and at a later date Abbot of Eynsham, a Benedictine monk who acted as chaplain of St. Hugh, and who during the last few years of his life never left his side. The remarkable candour and truthfulness of this witness have deservedly won the admiration of all who have studied his writings.† Of the two works referred to, the *Visio* was compiled and disseminated in the lifetime of St. Hugh and at his direct instigation. The *Magna Vita* was probably not composed until nearly fifteen years later, during the worst troubles of the reign of John. Curiously enough, the writer of the later work says not a word which would betray his connexion with the earlier. If it had not been for a chance statement preserved to us by the chronicler Ralph of Coggeshall, a statement only brought

* If any reader object, with Dom Wallace (p. 43), that Edmund's sister Alice is said to have died at Catesby as late as 1270, I reply that he has himself shown (p. 39) that this statement cannot be accepted without further verification; for Matthew Paris assigns Alice's death, as well as Margaret's, to 1257. Moreover, Dom Wallace does not give his authority for the statement that Alice died in 1270.

† I must be content to refer here to the preface of the Anglican Editor of the *Magna Vita*, the Rev. James Dimock, (Rolls Series; Pref. pp. xlv. and lxx.). He says amongst many other things: "He (Adam) has given us a proof of his rigid accuracy and truthfulness than which it seems to me scarcely possible to imagine a more strong and convincing one." Compare also the *Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln* in the Quarterly Series, edited by the present writer, particularly pp. xi.-xiv. of the preface, and the index, s.v. Adam.

to light in recent times,* the relation of the *Visio* to the *Magna Vita* would probably never have been discovered. But the suggestion once made, it has been easy to establish the indentivity of their authorship upon evidence which no one has contested, or would, I think, dream of contesting.† There is a certain air of mystery which prevades Adam's narrative of the events of which I speak. Contrary to his wont, he suppresses all names; but so far as his own knowledge went we have no reason to believe that he was less scrupulously exact here than elsewhere in his statements of fact. At the Bugden interview with which the story opens, Adam, it seems, was not present. He must have learnt the details afterwards from those principally concerned. But the following at any rate is the account which he gives:

At the beginning of November, 1194, St. Hugh was one day saying Mass in the chapel of his manor at Bugden. A number of priests and monks were present, and amongst them a young cleric of about twenty-five years of age, apparently a stranger. When Mass was over, he asked to speak to the Bishop. St. Hugh received him kindly, took him into the sanctuary (*secus altare*),‡ and there the young man told him a long and very strange story. When reciting the psalter for the soul of his father on the day after All Saints,§ this cleric had heard a mysterious voice bidding him go to the Bishop of Lincoln and urge the Bishop to draw the attention of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Hubert Walter) to the deplorable abuses and

* The first to call attention to this passage seems to have been Mr. H. R. Luard in the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris (Rolls Series), vol. ii., p. xiii. Since then it has been noticed by many other writers, e.g., H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, vol. ii., p. 507; E. Becker, *Mediæval Visions*, p. 94.

† To restate the evidence here would protract this paper to an unreasonable length. I must be content to refer to the introduction which I have prefixed to the text of the *Visio Monachi de Eynsham* in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xxii. (1903); to the *Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln*, pp. 398 seq.; and 617 seq.; and to *The Month*, Jan., 1898. From this last article I have repeated, with alterations, a few passages where it was necessary to summarise the same facts for the purpose of my present argument.

‡ As confessionals were not known in the twelfth century, the open space beside the altar was commonly used in smaller churches for hearing confessions.

§ He was reciting the entire psalter, and had already reached the ci. psalm. The father, we are told, had died in Palestine only a few years before.

the corruption of morals then prevalent among the English clergy. The young man believed at first that it was all a delusion, but the voice repeated the same command again, and the message was confirmed both by the warning of a pious woman who spoke to him of her own accord, and by a third repetition of this mysterious intimation that same night after he had retired to rest. When the cleric pleaded that the words of one so insignificant as himself could have no weight with the Bishop, the voice bade him disclose to the holy man what he should see upon the altar during his Mass, and it added that he would then at once gain credence for the message he had to communicate. The young ecclesiastic accordingly hastened to Bugden, assisted at the Bishop's Mass, and saw the form of a beautiful infant in his hands at the moment of consecration in place of the Host. This he told to St. Hugh, adding that he was sure that the presence of the little child must have been perceptible to him also; and the Saint, without contradicting or affirming it, answered only by mingling his tears with those which his visitor was shedding, charging him to speak to no one else of what he had that day witnessed. Further, he exhorted him to enter a monastery, in order not to expose any longer to the dangers of the world the soul which had been so singularly favoured. The young man promised to follow this advice. Then the Bishop took him into the refectory, placed him near himself during the meal, and sent him away on the next day, with his blessing, to a monk who was one of his special friends.

The new religious, we are told, lived a holy life in the cloister, where he was favoured with numerous other revelations, many of which were set down in writing by the order of St. Hugh, and were scattered far and wide. It was from the lips of the young man himself that the Bishop's chaplain and biographer afterwards gathered the facts which have just been briefly summarized.*

* The passage in the *Magna Vita* runs thus: After telling us that the young cleric, becoming a monk soon after, *religiose admodum conversatus est*, the author goes on: "Cui plurima quoque spiritualium visionum mysteria postmodum fuisse revelata certissime experti sumus, ex quibus non pauca literis dudum de mandato sancti præsulis tradita, longe lateque

One other remark is added by Adam before he finally quits the subject of the young cleric and his visions. The *Magna Vita*, it will be remembered, was written about the year 1213. Adam declares that amongst other things revealed to this youth was the fate of the Holy City of Jerusalem, which, as it had fallen in their own times into the hands of the Saracens, should also in their own times be miraculously recovered by the Christians. "And this," continues Adam, "I have the greater confidence will take place by God's mercy, because I have already seen many things fulfilled which were foreshown to the same youth as about to come to pass." In this hope, however, of the immediate recovery of Jerusalem, Adam, as we now know, was destined to be disappointed.

This exhausts all that we can learn from the *Magna Vita* of the strange young cleric who had so remarkable an interview with Bishop Hugh of Lincoln.* In order to trace the story further, we must turn to the text of the *Visio Monachi de Eynsham*,† for this was the revelation which was "set down by order of St. Hugh and scattered far and wide." And the author of the elegant Latin account to which currency was thus given was, as already stated, no other than Adam himself, who at the time he wrote it was prior or sub-prior of the Eynsham monastery.

That the young monk who had this celebrated vision of which so many mediæval copies are preserved to us‡ was

vulgata noscuntur. A cuius ore haec ipsa quae modo retulimus frequenter audivimus." (*Magna Vita*, p. 241). The *certissime experti sumus* must imply intimate personal relations between the writer and the percipient of the vision.

* It may be observed, however, that this vision of the Child Jesus in the Host had evidently suggested some doubts to the mind of Abbot Adam, even though it profoundly impressed him (see the account of his dream in the *Magna Vita*, pp. 360-361).

† The full text was recently edited for the first time by the present writer in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xxii. (1903), from several manuscripts at the British Museum and the Bodleian. An excellent edition has also been published from various continental manuscripts by Dom Michael Huber, O.S.B., in the *Romanische Forschungen*, vol. xvi. (1903), p. 641-733.

‡ There are three MSS. containing it at the British Museum, four at the Bodleian, two in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, one at Corpus Christi, Cambridge, and another at Trinity, Cambridge. I have examined all these except the last named. Besides this, there seem to be two copies in Paris and two at Chartres, together with one or two others in German libraries (see Dom Michael Huber, O.S.B., in the *Romanische Forschungen*, vol. xvi. (1903), p. 641. The vision was summarised by Wendover,

identical with the youth who came to St. Hugh at Bugden can hardly admit of serious doubt. The evidence is derived from several independent sources, and is in some respects most explicit. Thus the early Carthusian chronicler Bohicius, who in a matter so closely connected with a Carthusian saint, *i.e.*, Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, was likely to be well informed, tells us the story of the youth at Bugden, and mentions his retiring to a monastery and the revelations vouchsafed to him. Then he goes on to say that a copy of these revelations was preserved in the Charterhouse of Parc, especially of that "wonderful and terrible revelation which he had of the future state of souls after this present life." This identification is further driven home by Dom Le Couteulx, who refers to Denis the Carthusian's citations from this same vision, and these when examined prove to be extracts from the *Visio Monachi de Eynsham*.^{*} Again, Ralph Coggeshall identifies the vision of purgatory vouchsafed to the Eynsham monk as that which was written down by St. Hugh's chaplain :

And yet another vision (he says) has been clearly recorded which was seen in the monastery of Eynsham in the year 1196 ; and Adam, the sub-prior of the monastery, a most grave and religious man, wrote this narrative in an elegant style, even as he heard it from the mouth of him whose soul had been set free from the body for two days and nights. I do not believe that such a man, so religious and so learned, would have written these statements until they had been sufficiently tested ; he being at that time, moreover, chaplain to Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, a most holy man ; and Thomas, prior of Bingham (in Norfolk), who was then prior of Eynsham, and who examined the evidence closely, has since assured me that he feels no more doubt of the truth of the vision than of the Crucifixion of our Lord Jesus Christ. And so much I have wished to say because many of the Eynsham monks decry the vision ; but every revelation is doubted of by some.†

Now, the story which Adam wrote down from the lips of the youth after his trance is certainly a very curious one.

Matthew Paris, and other chroniclers ; and a mediæval English version of it was printed at London by William de Maclinia about 1482, from which I shall have occasion to quote further on.

^{*} For further proofs see *The Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln*, p. 617 seq. and p. 349 seq. ; *Analecta Bollandiana* (1903), pp. 227-230.

† H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of MS. Romance*, vol. ii., p. 507.

But the most interesting part of it is not the description of the pains endured in purgatory, nor the long stories of the souls he met there, most of whom were either his old acquaintances who had recently died or famous public characters, like Henry II. and Archbishop Baldwin. To the modern reader familiar with psychic problems, the most striking part of the narrative is formed by the introductory chapters, which describe the circumstances of the trance and the curious physical conditions under which the young monk had been living ever since St. Hugh had sent him to the Eynsham monastery. I must summarise the story here as concisely as I can.

On Good Friday morning of the year 1196, when the monks of the monastery of Eynsham, in Oxfordshire, assembled for Prime, a strange sight met their view. A young monk was lying prostrate on the ground before the Abbot's chair, his feet bare and his form motionless. They tried to rouse him, but he gave no sign of life. His face was smeared all over with blood, his eyes sunken and glazed, his feet stone cold. Only after very close scrutiny "there was perceived in him a little thin breath and a moving of his heart." Not knowing what to do, they lifted him from the ground and took him to his bed, while some of the monks were left all that day to keep watch beside him.

The patient whose condition seemed so grave had not been long a member of their community. For the past fifteen months—that is, almost from the very beginning of his residence amongst them—he had been a continual sufferer. "His stomach," we are told, "abhorred so greatly meat and drink that sometimes by the space of nine days and more he might receive nothing but a little warm water; and whatsoever thing of leechcraft or physic any man did to him for his comfort or his amendment, nothing helped him, but all turned contrary." On the evening before Maundy Thursday, however, he had felt suddenly better. He had been present at the midnight office, and had remained praying continuously in the church until six o'clock in the morning; then he had made his confession and had begged to receive the discipline publicly with the

others, as was the custom of the monastery on that day. For the rest, no one knew any more than that he had been seen on the way to Matins the next night, and six hours later was found lying prostrate on the pavement under the circumstances already described.

During all that Good Friday and until the evening of Holy Saturday the brethren remained in consternation. What greatly increased the general panic was the fact that the sacristan, on going to fetch the crucifix which was used for the creeping to the cross on Good Friday, and which had been kept since the beginning of Lent behind the altar of St. Lawrence, found it with its side and right foot covered with fresh blood; and there beside it were found the staff and shoes of the brother now seized with such a strange calamity:

Soothly (the narrative continues) all the brethren came together into the chapter-house greatly astonished upon these things that befell; and, avisement taken, all that were there with great contrition of heart took discipline of rods and lying prostrate in the church saiden weepingly the vii. psalms of penance for to get our Lord's mercy.

Truly, this sick brother all that day, which was Good Friday, with the night following and the next day after, almost till the sunset, continued in one state. Also, the brethren with strength of hands (by main force) opened his mouth and cast into it justys (broths) of divers spices and herbs for his relieving. But anon after, there ran out again whatsoever was put into his mouth, as though his throat had been stopped. Emplasters also to his breast and arms they bound, but all was vain. They pricked with needles and scraped the soles of his feet, but nothing might be perceived in him of a living man, save a little redness of cheeks and a little warmth of body. The colour of his face oftentimes was changed to ashes, and again marvellously the colour of his face was renewed and well showed. Also they made a great horn to be blown there, but nothing it booteth.*

I cannot go on to describe in detail how with the ringing of the bells on Easter Eve—it must be remembered that at that epoch the Holy Saturday service still took place in the evening—the young monk awoke from his trance and was restored at the same time to health and soundness of body.

* *Visio Monachi de Eynsham*, cap. iii. I quote from Arber's reprint of the old 15th century English translation.

It was not perhaps wonderful that his brethren should see something supernatural about the state of coma in which he had lain so long, though probably modern scientific critics would regard it only as a phase of the nervous malady from which he was presumably suffering. However, students of science will find it less easy to account for the healing which the same scrupulous and truthful witness avers to have taken place during the trance:

And beside all these things, we know also another certain thing that was a full fair miracle, and a very token of God's curation showed on him the same time, and as much to be marvelled. Soothly he had almost the space of a whole year in his left leg a great sore, and a full bitter, as it were a cancer large and broad, whereby he was pained intolerably. And he was wont to say that he had such a sorrow and pain thereof, as he had borne a hot plate of iron bound fast to his leg. And there was no plaster, no ointment, neither any other medicine, howbeit that he had much leechcraft laid to it, that might ease him of his pain or draw the wound together. Truly, in the space of his ravishing he was so fully healed that he himself marvelled with us to feel and see the pain and ache with the wound so clean gone, that no token of it nor sign of redness or of whiteness remained above the marvellous curation of God. Alonely this difference had his leg that was sore from the other leg, that where the aforesaid sore was, that place was bare and had none hair.*

It is impossible to discuss here at any length either the vision of the torments of purgatory, which are detailed with a minuteness akin to the descriptions of the *Divina Commedia*, or the extraordinary illness which preceded the trance. But a word may be added regarding the strange condition in which he was found prostrate and barefoot on the Good Friday morning. It appears that during the night between Thursday and Friday the invalid youth had heard in his sleep, or believed he heard, a voice which summoned him to go to the chapel of St. Lawrence and venerate the crucifix which he would find there. He obeyed, and after receiving the discipline from two of the monks at his own request,† he went on to the chapel

* *Visio*, cap. 58.

† This it seems was a pure delusion. None of the monks know anything of this disciplining. See the *Visio*, cap. xiii. But his presence in St. Lawrence's chapel was obviously real enough.

indicated. The story is here told by Adam in the monk's own words :

And when, he says, I was nigh the altar, I put off my shoes and kneeled on my knees upon the pavement and oftentimes inclined my head down to the ground. And so went behind the altar to seek the cross I had been told of. Truly I knew not before in any wise by any man's telling that any cross was let down there. Nevertheless, I found it as it was told me beforehand. And anon I was resolved all into tears of devotion, and lying prostrate all my body full devoutly, I worshipped the holy cross, saying many devout prayers. And then afterwards I came kneeling on my knees to the same cross, and said longer devout supplications and thankings to God, kissing oftentimes the feet of the crucifix and busily with the tears of my eyes watered them. The meanwhile as I lifted up my eyes that were sore of weeping to the face of the crucifix, I felt some drops falling down upon me. I put thereto my fingers, and I well perceived and knew by the redness that it was blood. Also I beheld the right side of our Lord's body, and it welled out with blood, as a man's flesh is wont to bleed when it is cupped. Truly the place I saw this in was dark, for it was behind the altar about midnight. But I saw there two lights shining on both sides of the cross, as it had been two tapers well burning. I looked from whence the light should come and I could see no place from whence it came. Truly then I took there in my hand I wot not how many drops of that precious blood, and therewith diligently I anointed my eyes, my ears, and my nostrils. And in the last place I put one drop of that blessed blood into my lips, and of the great desire and devotion of my heart I swallowed it down. And whether I offended God in that point or no I wot never. The remnant thereof I held in my hand, purposing to have kept it. Also I saw and beheld the right foot of the same crucifix bleed. Soothly yesterday when I was restored to myself again, and found nothing of that precious blood in my hands, sore and greatly I sorrowed and ever shall for the loss of so great and precious treasure.*

Now it is the percipient of these strange experiences, this novice† of about five and twenty, directed by St. Hugh to the abbey of Eynsham, who may, I think, with

* *Visio*, cap. xi.

† I say novice advisedly, though he had been at Eynsham fifteen months. It is hardly credible that he could have been allowed to make his profession in the infirm state described to us. The Chartres MS. 51, calls him explicitly a novice. See also MS. St. Gall., 142, and MS. Bib. Univ. Basle, A. vi., 16. (See Huber, *Beitrag zur Visionsliteratur*, etc., p. 1). For a copy of this last interesting dissertation I am indebted to the kindness of the author.

fair probability be identified with the famous St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury. I am far from claiming for this identification the credit of an ascertained fact. It is obviously open to serious objections. But there are certain coincidences which it is difficult to explain on any other theory, and the objections are not so insuperable as they might seem at first sight. The remainder of this paper must be devoted to stating as clearly and concisely as possible the arguments on both sides.

And first it is an important fact that the name of this young novice was certainly Edmund. Adam, in his narrative of these occurrences, had resolutely endeavoured, as he tells us himself, to suppress all names,* even the name of the monastery in which the events occurred. That this was no mere affectation is shown by the fact that the actual text of the *Visio* contains no names. The place Eynsham is designated simply as "a certain monastery well known to me," in *quodam notissimo mihi monasterio*. But this precaution could not prevent a few of the copyists who had heard the fame of these things—and that they were much discussed the extract from Ralph Coggeshall, above, plainly shows—from adding the name Eynsham or other details in the heading which they prefixed to the text. The most notable example occurs in one of the oldest, if not *the* oldest, of the manuscripts preserved to us, the Bodleian MS., Digby, 34, of the early part of the thirteenth century. There we are told twice over both the name of the author of the narrative and the name of the young monk principally concerned. That the name of the author is correctly given affords strong presumption that the other data are also reliable. It is true that the place is spelt Amesham, evidently an error for Ainesham, but this only proves that the scribe was copying a still older rubric and was not himself familiar with the locality. In the names Adam and Eadmund no mistake was possible. Moreover, this mention of Edmund as the percipient of the

* *Visio*, cap. xxiii. He explains his reasons for this reticence at some length, and winds up by saying: "Lateant ergo lectorem nomina et habitationis loca non modo eorum de quibus textitur hic sermo sub Dei testimonio verissimus, sed lateat utinam relatoris nomen. Lateat et quo loci idem degat: res ipse divulgantur, tacitis nominibus ubique et locis cunctorum."

vision does not stand alone. The same name is found also in the thirteenth century Cotton MS., Caligula, A. viii., which preserves another version of the narrative. As this had been translated back into Latin from the French, we have every reason to consider it an independent authority.

I can well conceive, and in a large measure I sympathise with, the impatience which will here lead many of my readers to ask: "And do you really wish to persuade us that St. Edmund of Abingdon and Edmund the monk of Eynsham were one and the same person, merely because they happened to bear the same common English name?" Let me hasten to avow that the mere identity of name would be a very slender ground to go upon,* but for all that I fancy that the identity of name is a more weighty argument than would at first sight be supposed. Edmund, in point of fact, was by no means a common name at that period among the educated classes to which the Saint of Abingdon and the monk of Eynsham both belonged. For anyone who cares to investigate the matter, satisfaction on the point is easy. Let us take, for example, the *Great Roll of the Pipe* during the first year of Richard I. (1189-1190), which was edited for the Record Commissioners in 1844 by the Rev. Joseph Hunter. Its index, like other records of the same class printed at that period, has the convenience of being arranged almost entirely by Christian names. In this volume only two persons named Edmund are mentioned;† but there are 40 distinct Ralphs (Radulphus), 54 Richards, 56 Roberts, 92 Williams; there are also 11 Alans, 17 Adams, 12 Benedicts, and so forth in proportion. Again, in the *Chancellor's Roll* for the third year of King John (1201-1202) there is only one Edmund referred to, but the number of different persons called William—at that time, it seems, the most popular Christian name—amounts to 143. There are 24 Adams, 37 Hughs, 10 Reginalds, etc. Once more, in the *Rotuli Curiae Regis*, from 1194 to 1200, which were edited by Sir Francis Palgrave, I find

* When editing the *Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln* the identification seemed to me so improbable as not to be worth discussing. See *Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln*, p. 356. I was not then alive to the many curious coincidences and resemblances which a more careful inquiry has brought to light.

† They will be found entered under the form Aedmundus (!)

indeed some eight persons named Edmund, most of them from the Eastern counties, but the number of Williams is nearly 400, while such comparatively rare names as Adam or Gilbert run into the sixties. Lastly, the *Rotuli de Finibus*, printed by Sir Thomas Hardy for various years between 1199 and 1216, supply analogous data. There are only two Edmunds mentioned, but 223 Williams, while there are 12 Nigels, 19 Philips, 6 Andrews, 30 Alans, some 40 Geoffreys (Gaufridus), and a dozen Warrens (Garinus or Warinus); Ralphs, Richards and Roberts are also there by the hundred.* As a result of some trouble spent upon calculations of this sort, I believe I shall be within the mark in saying that at the beginning of the thirteenth century among the more educated classes not more than one person in a thousand was called Edmund, although in East Anglia the proportion was probably higher, especially among the peasants and villeins of Saxon descent. The very disquisitions which Edmund's biographers devote to the etymology of his name and to the occasion which led to its being chosen, show that it was not altogether common.

While, then, the identity of name in itself does not carry us very far, it does become a very remarkable fact when we remind ourselves how very few male persons can have been living in England at that time who were subject to such extraordinary supernatural manifestations as are recorded independently of both Edmund of Abingdon and Edmund of Eynsham. Of the monk of Eynsham we have already heard sufficient. As to St. Edmund, the legends—I admit we can trust them but imperfectly—begin with his very birth. "From the morning of the day of St. Edmund the Martyr, whereon he was brought into the world, up to eventide he lay as though dead, so that the handmaids would have committed him to burial had not his mother withstood their purpose."† Does this reflect some vague tradition of a

* The index in most of the modern books of this class is arranged on different principles; take, for example, the volumes edited by the Pipe Roll Society. But, so far as it is possible to make calculations, they give exactly the same results as to the comparative infrequency of the name Edmund before 1250. Compare again Hall's *Red Book of the Exchequer*, in the Rolls Series.

† Ward, p. 5. This passage is taken from the Pontigny Life.

predisposition in infancy to cataleptic seizures? Visions of some kind seem to have marked every stage of St. Edmund's career. Some are said to have happened in childhood, as, for instance, that of the Child Jesus in the meadow. During his scholastic days we hear of apparitions of his mother Mabel, of St. John the Evangelist, of the Blessed Trinity, and of the Holy Ghost; while others, such as that of the souls of the departed at Calne, marked his life as a priest. Whenever he offered Mass his eyes streamed with tears to such an extent that the corporal was saturated. The revelations seem to have continued to the last. St. Thomas of Canterbury appeared to him not long before he left England, and allowed him to feel the wounds in his skull. It was also towards the close of his career that the following incident happened, which I quote from the life by Dom Wallace:

"Once St. Edmund had invited some distinguished guests to dine with him. When the dinner was announced the Archbishop did not make his appearance. After waiting a considerable time, his Chancellor Richard (this was St. Richard de Wych, afterwards Bishop of Chichester) went in search of him. Just as he opened the door he perceived the Archbishop raised high above the ground, his body inclined forward and his hands clasped together. He was wrapt in prayer. At the interruption caused by his Chancellor's entrance, he sank down to the ground, and, turning to Richard, complained to him for cutting short the prayer which caused him so much happiness. He declared that in his ecstasy he had seen the souls of King Richard and of Archbishop Langton delivered from the pains of purgatory."^{*}

We cannot help thinking as we read this of the Eynsham monk's description of the lot in the next world of such famous personages as Henry II., Bishop Hugh de Pudsey, or Bishop Jocelyn of Bath.

The extraordinary rigour of life, the long prayers and abstemiousness of St. Edmund, are no doubt the common-places of all sanctity. We cannot infer much from such points of resemblance, for they are found in all who aim at high perfection. But the practice of habitually making prophetic speeches is more distinctive, and it is curious that the trait is conspicuously developed both in St. Edmund,

* Wallace, p. 268.

as many other stories bear witness, and also in what we know of the monk of Eynsham. However, amongst these points of general resemblance, that which I am most inclined to lay stress upon is a predisposition in both to ulcerous affections which were capable of being suddenly cured. Twice we hear of St. Edmund suffering from such a malady. Once he healed a pupil's arm of an ulcer and the ulcer was transferred to his own arm, he himself being subsequently cured of it. But the following instance is even more to the point:

Edmund himself (writes Dom Wallace*) once suffered from an ulcerated foot. The remedy he adopted was this: he took a quill pen and marked with ink three or four crosses on the wound. The next morning he found that the ulcer was completely healed without leaving the slightest trace.

The reader will remember the "full fair miracle" to which Abbot Adam appealed as a conclusive proof that the Eynsham vision was of supernatural origin.

My argument, therefore, I repeat, is this. It seems incredible that there can have been many young men living in England at the same period in whom these preternatural manifestations were developed in so conspicuous a degree. To suggest that there might have been half a dozen such cases is certainly not warranted by any facts preserved to us in the history of the times. But granting that there were a score of them, would it not be a very remarkable coincidence that any two should agree not only in possessing the rather uncommon name of Edmund, but also in a number of other features such as those now to be detailed.

1. They were both of an age.

Accepting the year 1170 as the more probable date of St. Edmund's birth, Edmund Rich in 1195 would have been about 25 years old. This is the age attributed to the young monk of Eynsham by St. Hugh's biographer.

2. They came from the same neighbourhood.

We know from the *Visio* that the young monk's home was within walking distance of Eynsham

* P. 131.

Abbey. Now, Abingdon, where St. Edmund was born and brought up, is about ten miles from Eynsham.

3. Eynsham itself was familiar to both.

The lives nearly all state that St. Edmund's father became a monk at Eynsham, except one, which says that it was one of his brothers who became a monk there.

4. They both were clerics, but were not in holy orders.

5. The father in both cases was dead.

6. They both seem to have had a university education in England and abroad.

We know that St. Edmund had studied at Oxford and at Paris. On the other hand, it seems difficult to account for the wide circle of acquaintances which the young monk possessed (he recognises so many ecclesiastics in purgatory as his former personal friends), except on the supposition that he had studied abroad as well as at Oxford.

7. They both had the practice of reciting the entire psalter.

We are explicitly told that St. Edmund was taught to do this by his mother Mabel. "Before taking food upon Sundays and holidays he was wont to recite the whole psalter, in this matter also willingly yielding to the bidding of his mother."* On the other hand, when the future Archbishop received the heavenly monition on All Soul's Day to go to St. Hugh at Bugden, he was then actually engaged in reciting the whole psalter for his father's soul.

8. They both were keenly interested in the recovery of the Holy Land.

St. Edmund, at a later date, was one of the most zealous preachers of the crusade. The novice, as we have seen, prophesied the recapture of Jerusalem in their own generation.

Some of these points, no doubt, should be regarded rather as characteristic of the times than of the individual,

* Pontigny Life, Ward, p. 13.

but there are a few details of a more personal kind which deserve lengthier treatment. Upon the first of these I lay no stress, though it certainly must be accounted an odd coincidence.

9. One of the Lives of St. Edmund, that which Baroness de Paravicini attributes with some plausibility to Matthew Paris, speaks of the Saint as belonging to a family of four brothers, and mentions that one of the brothers became a monk at Eynsham.* Of course, there may be some confusion with Edmund's father; or it might also be that Matthew, having heard that one of the sons went to Eynsham, assumed that this must be some other than those of whom he knew, for it would not have occurred to him that it could have been Edmund himself who entered there. But, after all, it is quite possible that this biographer was right, and that Edmund really had a brother at Eynsham who was older than himself. For, curiously enough, the rubric in the Digby MS. suggests that Adam the Prior, who wrote the narrative, was own brother to the young monk who saw all these wonderful things in his trance. The problem is an interesting one, but without further evidence we cannot hope to clear the matter up.†

10. The point which comes next seems to me of greater weight. Most of St. Edmund's biographers mention, with certain variations, his practice of tracing the words *Jesus Nazarenus* on his forehead before retiring to rest. That he observed this down to the end of his life seems certain, for his chamberlain one

* "Habuit et memoratus Edmundus fratrem quendam qui apud Eynesham, vir discretus et compositus, habitum suscepit religionis," Wallace, p. 543. Of all the early lives this goes into most detail about St. Edmund's family. The biographer (? Matthew Paris) seems to have judged that he had more accurate information than his predecessors.

† "Incipit prefatio domini Adam prioris de Ameshamma (Ainsham) super visione quam vidit Eadmundus monachus, bonae indolis adolescens, frater ipsius scilicet prioris et in professione filius, anno MCXCVI.," MS. Digby, 34. There is no necessary inconsistency because Coggeshall calls Adam sub-prior. He may have become prior later on. We know that he was eventually elected Abbot. As regards the word *professione*, I do not think that we are bound to infer therefrom that Edmund had taken the solemn vows. The writer may only mean that it was his brother Adam who gave him the habit.

night watched him do it, as he explains very fully, and the Saint then took occasion to exhort him to do the same: "See," he said, "that every night before thou sleepest thou dost not omit to trace on thy forehead with thy finger this name Jesus of Nazareth." The writer's way of speaking seems to show that the practice was not then general, and was regarded as originating with Edmund himself. In fact, he, with other biographers, declares that it was imparted to Edmund in the vision of the Child Jesus, which he had when a youth in the fields near Oxford. There is no good reason, to my knowledge, for supposing that this explanation of how the Saint learnt the practice is anything more than a mere guess. What is certain is that in the *Visio Monachi de Eynsham*, which was written down in 1196, *i.e.*, fifty years earlier, the same practice is described as having been taught to the young novice Edmund in his trance. A goldsmith, whom he had formerly known, was suffering great torment in purgatory owing to the fact that he had been cut off by sudden death in the midst of a bout of drunkenness. Thereupon the young monk in his vision, conversing with the goldsmith, asked him if there were any remedy against sudden death:

"Furthermore, I enquired and asked of this goldsmith if it were possible by anything that folk might shun and eschew sudden death. Then he answered and said in this wise to me: 'Oh,' he said, 'soothly; if I had known when I was in the world living such things as I know now, I would have taught and defended all the world from that great hurt and damage, how the people and folk might be sure and safe from the falling of sudden death. Truly and verily if Christian people would write daily on their foreheads and about the place of their heart with their finger or in any other wise, these two words, that contain the mystery of the health and salvation of mankind, that is to wit *Jhesus Nazareus*, without doubt the true people of our Saviour Jhesu Christ should be harmless and preserved from such a great peril and hurt. And also they shall have after their death the same letters and words written full openly and clearly at their hearts and also on their foreheads in token and in sign of great worship.'"

* *Visio*, cap. xxii.

It is certainly a curious coincidence that a practice observed by the Saint down to the end of his life, and believed to have originated with him in consequence of a revelation received in his youth, should be introduced to us for the first time in the vision of the other Edmund, and should be recommended there as something previously unknown.

11. The episode of the goldsmith just referred to supplies another striking clue which, when added to the other coincidences, it seems to me difficult to brush aside lightly. This goldsmith, as just explained, had been intimately known to the young Eynsham monk before the latter entered religion. He lived "in a certain town not far off," and in that same town some fifteen months earlier the Eynsham Edmund had been lying sick, apparently just before his entrance into the noviceship. Thither also one of the monks, apparently Adam, had walked over from Eynsham to pay him a visit—a very natural thing, as we may suppose, for a brother to do. The main point, however, is this. The goldsmith, who lived in the same town, is described with much detail as being very devout to St. Nicholas because he was *parochianus Sancti Nicolai*, "St. Nicholas's parishioner." Now, with the possible but doubtful exception of a church in Oxford, the only parish church dedicated to St. Nicholas in that part of the country which is known to have been standing in 1196 was the church of Abingdon.* We have, therefore, the best reason for believing that the novice Edmund's home was in Abingdon. Hence we may fairly say that the novice of the visions not only bore the same name with St. Edmund, and was of the same age with him, but that he actually was a native of the same small town. Surely the existence of two different Edmunds combining so remarkable a mystical experience with so

* It is unquestionable that St. Nicholas Church at Abingdon existed before St. Edmund's time. Part of the existing fabric is Norman. See *Kirk Obedientiaries of Abingdon Abbey*, Preface, p. xv.; cf. *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, IV. A. 6194, and Ward, *St. Edmund*, p. 263. Hearne and Wallace (p. 34) are certainly wrong in asserting that it was first built in 1289.

many other identical characteristics is barely conceivable.

One other point on which I cannot forbear to touch, though fuller development is impossible, is the curious account preserved to us of St. Edmund's last moments. He requested, we are told, that a crucifix, together with the images of St. Mary and St. John, should be placed before his eyes, a trait which recalls forcibly the description in the 54th chapter of the *Vision*. But the account goes on to explain that when the crucifix was set before him, "taking a little wine, which also had been fetched at his request, with his own hands he washed the places of the nails in the same crucifix, and the lance wound in the side; and making the sign of the cross over the ablution with great devotion, he drank it, after kissing the places of the nails; and he spoke these words: 'Haurietis aquam in gaudio de fontibus Salvatoris' (ye shall draw water with joy out of the Saviour's fountains). After taking the ablution he never drank again."* Can it be that his thoughts in those last hours of life had flown back to a certain Good Friday night at Eynsham years before, when he knelt beneath the crucifix behind the altar of St. Lawrence, and felt, as he believed, the precious blood of our Saviour trickling down upon his face and hands?

But while the coincidences which suggest the identity of the two Edmunds are very remarkable, it must be admitted that there are serious difficulties which cannot be left out of account. In the way of positive evidence indeed, I know of only one fact which conflicts with the theory, and this point cannot be considered decisive. We are told distinctly in the *Magna Vita* that the father of the youth who came to St. Hugh at Bugden had died in the Holy Land when on a pilgrimage of devotion. On the other hand, St. Edmund's biographers assert that the father, with his wife's consent,

* Ward, p. 163, from the Pontigny life. It must be admitted that such rinsings of venerated pictures or objects of piety were not infrequently drunk in this way in the Middle Ages with a quasi medicinal intention. In chapter xiii. *bis*, of the *Vision*, omitted in the English translation, we learn that the crucifix at Eynsham had shed blood from the wounds, so certain aged monks declared, before Edmund's time, and that two monks had been cured by drinking the water with which it was washed.

became a monk at Eynsham, and died shortly afterwards. Still it is to be noticed, first, that the said biographers are not even agreed as to the father's name—some call him Reginald, others Edward; and secondly, that the one life which professes to give most circumstantial details about the family history, declares that a *brother* of Edmund's became a monk at Eynsham, while of the father nothing is said but that he died before his wife.* It seems to me, therefore, that we are justified in attaching no conclusive force to this objection.

The really formidable difficulty lies in the weight of the negative evidence. Prominent as was the part which St. Edmund subsequently played in English religious history, acrimonious as were the disputes between himself and certain monastic communities, not a hint reaches us from any quarter that the Archbishop had himself, for a considerable time, worn the Benedictine habit. Still less is any suggestion made by his biographers that he was connected with the celebrated vision which Matthew Paris, who was one of those biographers, had himself summarised at large in the *Chronica Major*. Moreover, Eynsham was not situated in a remote region away from the haunts of men. It was within easy walking distance of both Abingdon and Oxford, where there must have been hundreds of prominent scholars who knew young Edmund Rich. Further, when Eynsham, through its abbot, petitioned the Pope for Edmund's canonization, while no word is said of Edmund's father, it is still more noteworthy that no word is said which implies that Edmund himself had lived there as a monk, and made the monastery famous by his visions.†

* One would have expected that when the abbot of Eynsham, c. 1241, wrote a letter to the Pope petitioning for the canonization of St. Edmund, he would have mentioned that the Saint's father had died there; but nothing is said to that effect.

† I am assuming that the letter which Martène prints under the heading "Epistola G. Abbatis et Conventus Egnelham" really represents Eynsham. Egnesham was one of the commonest spellings of the name, and Martène would probably not have been very familiar with the eccentricities of English orthography. In this letter, though no word is said of St. Edmund as a former alumnus, still much familiarity is assumed with his interior life. Thus the abbot declares "that as a true disciple of St. John the Evangelist, he (St. Edmund) preserved his virginity unstained, as those unflinchingly assert who heard his confessions, and who knew him in familiar intercourse from early childhood."

Of the great force of these and other similar objections I am fully sensible. But after all it *is* negative evidence, and the vagueness and contradictions of the biographers clearly show that no attempt was ever made systematically to clear away the obscurity which hung over St. Edmund's early years. Supposing that his brother Robert, and one or two others who must have known the truth, had been sworn to silence, or had felt bound to respect the Saint's known wishes in the matter, it is not clear to me that the story would ever have come to light, or at any rate have been preserved to posterity.

A conjectural explanation of St. Edmund's conduct and motives, supposing him to have been really identical with the young monk of Eynsham, would need a whole article to itself, neither would a tissue of hypotheses be very attractive to the reader. I confine myself, therefore, at the end of this paper to a very few brief suggestions which may possibly help to render the history, as I conceive it, somewhat less mysterious.

First, let me repeat that it does not seem necessary to suppose that the young monk of Eynsham ever made his profession as a monk in solemn form. Indeed, it would be almost inconceivable that he could have done so in the grievous infirmity from which he had laboured ever since his admission.

Secondly, the documents we possess show clearly that a considerable section of the Eynsham community were in no sympathy with the novice Edmund and his revelations. Coggeshall, whose information came straight from the monk who had been prior of Eynsham at the time, says roundly: "Many of the Eynsham monks decry the vision." There is also a most significant passage in the Latin text of Adam's narrative,* from which it would seem that the

* Cap. xlviii., ad finem, *Analecta Bollandiana* (1903), p. 307. "Iam vero quia multa ex hiis que in locis tormentorum comperimas, ut potuimus festinanter, occupationibus nimirum variis multum prepeditis, et nimis hinc inde tumultibus ex divini nutu moderaminis in nos consurgentibus vehementer attriti, fideli potius quam falerato sermone digessimus, hic de penis et in eis positis animabus narrationem interim concludimus. Post hec cum superne intuitus miserationis quietem nobis immodice peccatis nostris exigentibus ad presens turbatam, serenatis immo sedatis crucietatum procellis quibus infestamur, restituerit de gaudio et exultatione beatorum in sede

novice Edmund for a while absolutely refused to continue his disclosures until the storm of contradiction had passed.

Thirdly, these disclosures were only made with the greatest reluctance, and after much importunity. The narrative rigorously suppresses all names, even the name of the monastery in which the vision took place, but yet undoubtedly the strange story leaked out, and the young monk, as we may well suppose, was pestered with all sorts of enquiries. I believe that the same trait of character which led him in after years to fly from his troubles and bury himself in Pontigny, drove him away from the curiosity and the hostile criticism of the brethren at Eynsham. As a novice who had made no solemn profession he was still free. No doubt he exacted a promise of secrecy from all whom he could influence. This much at least is certain, that the subsequent history of the mysterious young novice of Eynsham is an absolute blank. Nothing is said by Adam, or by others who refer to the vision, which implies either that he lived on in the same community, or that anything further was known about him.

Lastly, on the supposition I am following, it seems probable that after quitting Eynsham the young Edmund would have left England altogether for ten years, or perhaps much longer. He may have at once begun teaching in Paris, or he may have hidden himself for a while in a Carthusian monastery. There is a curious letter of later date from the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse referring to St. Edmund of Canterbury as one who had been fashioned by Carthusian training, and coupling him in this respect with St. Hugh of Lincoln.[†] The letter was written in 1250, only ten years after St. Edmund's death, and was actually addressed to Boniface of Savoy, his successor in the See of Canterbury. To the modern biographers of the Saint, the letter presents a problem which they make no attempt to solve. On the theory here suggested, it would have been natural enough that Edmund, flying from publicity, should

amena et iocunda feliciter quiescentium, aliqua que vidimus exprimere prout Dominus ipse dederit attemptabimus. This is written by Adam in the person of the novice, as if the novice Edmund himself were speaking.

[†] Wallace, p. 418.

seek such a refuge, and it would have been equally natural that with health so impaired he should never have been allowed by Carthusian superiors to remain in that order. What we do know for certain is that before teaching theology at Oxford, St. Edmund spent another year in some ill-defined position among the Austin Canons at Merton. It is as though he were trying to find a form of religious life suited at once to his peculiar temperament and his high religious ideals. It was only after these successive disappointments, as I conceive, that he accepted benefices, and eventually settled down at Salisbury. God's Providence had other work in store for him, and his character was no doubt only strengthened by these apparent rebuffs.

Whether these and other similar considerations will be of any avail to make the identification here suggested seem possible, must be left to the reader to decide. My purpose will have been sufficiently accomplished if I have shown that the question involved is really a serious problem, and as such is worthy of further investigation by some painstaking student of our records.

HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

ART. II.—THE LAST DAYS OF JAMES, THIRD EARL OF DERWENTWATER.

NOT far from Hexham, in Northumberland, between Langley Castle and Haydon Bridge, is a wayside cross, erected, as the inscription tells, in 1883, and "In memory of James, Earl of Derwentwater, beheaded on Tower Hill in 1716," which would be in the twenty-seventh year of his age.

Of the story of this young death few people know much, and most people nothing. What follows is an attempt to recast into a concise and connected narrative all available information from trustworthy sources. With the events of the two years that followed the death of Queen Anne and the proclamation of the Elector of Hanover by virtue of what is called the Act of Settlement, with the part taken in them by the then Earl of Derwentwater, his death on the scaffold, and the ruin of his house, of course everybody is familiar in a general way; but the persistently Whig tradition, which has coloured, even to distortion, all printed history since the Revolution, leaves the state of public feeling in England in 1714 practically undescribed. There is a common notion that the vindication of the Protestant succession by the addition of England, Scotland, and Ireland to the Electorate of Hanover, was generally popular. Nothing could be less true. We know that even with the Protestant majority of the nation it was quite the other way. The months following the death of Anne were, in fact, crowded with riot in Birmingham, Bristol, Norwich, Oxford, Reading, York, Bedford, Taunton, Worcester—well-nigh all over England, but especially in

Manchester and throughout Lancashire, where formidable revolts were put down by military force and followed by extraordinary severities. A camp was established in Hyde Park to suppress insurrection in London, whence all Catholics were given a week's notice to withdraw to a distance of at least ten miles. The scare of the Whig Government, and, therefore, the true state of public feeling, may be estimated by the disproportion of political punishments to political offences. For example, a butcher was whipped at the cart's tail from Brentford Bridge and round the market place for having spoken of "James the Third" instead of "the Pretender." A cobbler of Highgate was whipped up Holborn Hill and down again, and imprisoned in Newgate for a year, for wearing mourning on the Elector's birthday. One Turner, a collar-maker, was put in the stocks for wearing an oak-leaf on May 29th. A schoolmaster, named Bournois, was flogged to death for denying the Elector's right to the throne; and the same fate befell an Irish priest, who also was flogged to death between Stocks Market (the site of the present Mansion House) and Aldgate; incidents which can scarcely be held to ring with public joy.

Such was the sort of news that travelled in those days to Hexham; whence a walk of two or three miles along the Newcastle road will bring us to the remnant—scarcely even the remnant—of a ruined mansion called Dilston Hall. It was not a ruin in 1714. It was the principal seat of the Radcliffes of Northumberland—among the chief of those grand old Catholic families of the North who had never been false to Holy Church even in her darkest hours. These Radcliffes were not Northumbrian in origin, their main stem being the Radcliffes of Radcliffe Towers in the Duchy of Lancaster. It was the younger son of a younger son, Sir Nicholas, who founded the fortunes of his branch of the parent stem by marrying, in 1417, Elizabeth, heiress of the prehistorically ancient house of de Derwentwater, and of its immemorial Manors of that ilk and of Castlerigg in Cumberland. The home of the succeeding Radcliffes of Derwentwater was a mansion on one of three islands in the lake; a second island being owned and occupied, singularly

enough, by a colony of German miners, down to the time of the Great Rebellion, and the third being the traditional hermitage of St. Herbert. Not till about the date of the battle of Bosworth did the Radcliffes of Cumberland become the Radcliffes of Northumberland by marriage with the heiress of Dilston. Then followed other great alliances, as with the Greys of Chillingham, and the acquisition, through yet another heiress, of great estates in Yorkshire. So territorially great did they grow that, though always loyal to the Faith, they seem despite every change to have held an almost royal position in their own country. Sir Francis Radcliffe was reported in 1616 as among the recusants of greatest note, and his house had been previously "searched for papistry"; yet he was among the baronets of the creation of 1619. Naturally the Radcliffes were for the King during the Great Rebellion, and their estates suffered sequestration in 1652; but these were recovered in their entirety at the Restoration, and the Sir Francis of that date—who, by the way, married yet another wealthy heiress—was created first Earl of Derwentwater, taking his principal title from his house's historic home.

That house, with its great territories in Northumberland, Cumberland, Yorkshire and Durham, was represented in this year of 1714 by James Radcliffe, third Earl, the son of Edward, the second Earl, by the Lady Mary Tudor, a natural daughter of King Charles II. He was a young man of four-and-twenty, happily married, the father of two young children, and universally loved and honoured for his piety, his blameless life, his gallant spirit, and every other quality that merits love and honour. If ever a man had cause for contentment with life, and for indifference to Whig or Tory, King or Pretender, James or George, it was surely this young favourite of fortune, happy in the present, and with the prospect of a long, happy and useful life before him, unclouded by a single visible care. Well, the news came to Dilston (it would be towards the end of August, 1715), how some score of the Scottish peers had met at Braemar, and had there taken a solemn oath of allegiance to King James. A week later followed the more public tidings that Lord Mar had openly raised the Royal Standard at Aboyne,

and that King James had been simultaneously proclaimed at Aberdeen, Inverness, Dundee, Dunkeld, Brechin, Castle Gordon, and Montrose. Two days later things came nearer home; King James was proclaimed by Mr. Forster at Greenrigg in Northumberland. It was one of those moments when a man *must* decide upon his course; and the decision of the head of the house of Radcliffe might well decide the destiny of England. It is said that he pondered his duty doubtfully and long, as well indeed he might; but when the decision was made, it was once for all. With the full and free agreement of his beautiful and high-spirited wife, he decided to draw the sword for King James III. There may be two opinions as to his reasons; as to his motive, there can be but one. If the cause of King James succeeded, he had nothing to gain; if it failed, everything—literally everything—to lose.

The night of October 5, 1715, he spent in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament. On the morning of the 6th he rode out from Dilston courtyard, in company with his brother Charles, at the head of his servants and neighbours, all full of hope and courage. He met Mr. Forster and some twenty other gentlemen on a hill near Greenrigg, whence the whole party of about sixty horsemen rode to Plainfield Moor, between Rothbury and Harbottle, a remote and lonesome spot, with a full view of the Cheviot Hills to the North, and well adapted for the assemblage of a force without attracting undesirable attention. Here, by a fine old ash tree, still to be seen from a great distance round, Derwentwater unfurled the standard of King James. It is easy to imagine the scene—the sixty horsemen round the solitary tree on the lonely moor, with the Cheviots blue in the distance, and the freshness of an October morning in the air, sending up a shout as the gallant young gentleman whom they had known and loved as child, boy and man, gave to the wind the standard of what they held to be a holy cause. They did not remain sixty for long. It was an army of all ranks—squires, yeomen, craftsmen, peasants, that left Plainfield and spent the night at Rothbury, where King James was proclaimed in front of the “Three Half Moons” and the “Old Black Bull.” Mr., better known as

General, Forster was put in chief command, on the ground that, as a Protestant, he would be better followed outside Derwentwater's own country than a Catholic leader. He established his head-quarters at Hexham, where, a fortnight later, he received a message that a Scottish force was crossing the Border and proposed to join with the English force at Rothbury. Here Derwentwater met the Scots under Lords Kenmure, Nithsdale, Wintoun, Carnwath and Nairn. The united force, still under Forster in chief command, marched to Wooler, and thence to Kelso, where it was joined by a body of 1,400 Highlanders. Forster then re-crossed the Border into Cumberland, proclaimed King James at Brampton, dispersed the militia at Penrith, entered Lancaster, and then Preston; and there—nobody ever knew why: some lay it to treachery, but it was more likely a case of bad generalship—Forster let his numerous and well-equipped force get shut up by General Willis, and capitulated after a three days' siege.

Derwentwater and his brother naturally shared the indignation of those who, rightly or wrongly, felt themselves the victims of either treachery, or cowardice, or incompetence, or all combined. One of the terms of the capitulation of Preston was that certain of the leaders should become hostages for the observance of its conditions. Derwentwater was the first to offer himself for a position that could only be preliminary to his trial as a rebel; and this is but in accordance with what is known of his high sense of honour, and of his responsibilities towards those whom he had led to all the consequences of defeat and failure. Together with the Lords Widdrington, Nithsdale, Carwath, Kenmure and Nairn, he was brought to London and lodged in the Tower. On Friday 9, 1716, opened their impeachment for High Treason. All were declared guilty, and upon all the Lord High Steward pronounced sentence of death.

In delivering sentence, the Lord High Steward went out of his way to exhort those of the prisoners who were Catholics to put aside, at the approach of death, all the spiritual consolations and supernatural aids to which they had trusted during their lives. What could have been in

that learned lawyer's mind is beyond mortal power to fathom.

How much effect such an exhortation had upon those to whom it was addressed may be easily supposed. So keenly, however, did the Hanoverian Government fear the consequences of putting to death one so universally loved and honoured as the Earl of Derwentwater, that on Monday, February 20th, eleven days after his sentence, his wife's brother-in-law, Lord Waldegrave (who had recently conformed to the Church of England, and been made a Knight of the Garter), and another peer whose name is not recorded, visited him in the Tower and, on the part of the Government, offered him his life if he would change his religion. His answer was that had he a thousand lives he would sooner part with them than renounce his faith. The next day, Tuesday, the Lord Chancellor sent two other lords with an offer of his life if only he would send for a clergyman of the Church of England, so that he might seem to have conformed. This offer also he refused. The very next day, Wednesday, his life was offered him on the mere condition that he would ask for a Protestant book; and this again he indignantly and emphatically refused to do.

From that moment he knew his fate to be sealed, and thenceforth devoted all the time that might be left him to preparation for his end. How he prepared himself we learn from a long letter written to his widow a year later by his confessor, Father George Pippard (whose real name seems to have been Brown) of the Society of Jesus. Father Pippard writes:

"His expressions were very extraordinary on some occasions, insomuch that though I have often heard the most spiritual men talk on these subjects, I have never felt anything that moved me so much as what he often said. He prepared himself for his general confession from the first day he saw me, and finished it, with wonderful composure, the Friday, eight days before his death, which he partly renewed the Monday following, when he received with wonderful satisfaction a little book, giving an account of the penitent behaviour of a man of quality, called Signor Troilo Savelli, who was beheaded in the flower of his youth in the Castle of St. Angelo at Rome, which was commended to his perusal. There was one passage in this book which mightily pleased him. The person who assisted this

young nobleman at his death showed him how the death which he could not avoid might nevertheless be made a voluntary sacrifice by a voluntary acceptance of it ; and that it would be so much the more meritorious the more willingly it were embraced ; that though our Saviour was ordained by His Heavenly Father to drink of the Chalice, He did it, however, voluntarily, which doctrine was confirmed by many examples, particularly out of St. Chrysostom ; and his lordship was resolved to practise it as best he could ; but when, on the Monday before he died, his life was assured him if he would change his religion, he told it me with the greatest transport of joy, that having refused his life on such terms, he hoped it was not now making a virtue of necessity ; that had he a thousand lives he would sooner part with them than renounce his Faith ; and with tears of joy in his eyes he humbly thanked God for giving him this opportunity of testifying his love for Him. It was better than a quarter of an hour before he could speak of anything else ; and, indeed, one would take him to be in a kind of rapture while he spoke upon that subject. From this time forward, I own, I took him to be another man, disengaged in a wonderful manner from what ties us down to this world, and alienated by an invisible hand above himself and everything that is worldly. His sentiments were sublime, and his words were attended with something that cannot be described. The Holy Ghost appeared to have taken full possession of his heart, and by choice he would have employed the remainder of his days in nothing but spiritual concerns, had not decency and even duty obliged him sometimes to attend to other things."

In the same letter we read "how great a tenderness and regard he had for his wife," so that, as Father Pippard writes :

"When he seemed to be raised above the sentiments of the world in everything else, he had not quite got the better of himself in regard to your Ladyship ; though even here he appeared wonderful to me."

and we read how the husband and wife spent their last hour together on their knees, praying to God for victory over themselves, in order not to have a thought left that did not belong wholly to Him.

Among his consolations were letters from friends ; one from Bishop Giffard, Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, is endorsed in the Countess's handwriting, "The Bishop's letter to my dear, dear Lord." The one earthly thought that seems to have been left him was a natural

desire to be buried at Dilston, and he accordingly gave instructions concerning his funeral to an undertaker, who, no doubt through fear of very possible consequences to himself, declined the affair.

On February 23rd an Order of Council issued for the execution of Lords Derwentwater, Nithsdale and Kenmure on the morrow, the other three Lords being reprieved for ten days more. The romantic escape of Lord Nithsdale between the Order and the Block reduced the sufferers to two. Derwentwater made his last confession to Father Pippard, and was then brought with his fellow-sufferer to Tower Hill—that Mount of Martyrs. The head of Derwentwater, as the higher of the two in rank, was to be the first to fall. Accounts of eye-witnesses agree as to the dignity, nay, the majesty, of his bearing. He mounted the scaffold dressed entirely in black, and wearing a golden crucifix on his breast. His long, fair ringlets enhanced a singularly youthful appearance, that seems to have touched all observers; he looked even younger than his years, few as these were. Again was he offered his life as the price of apostasy; again he indignantly refused to be false to the faith in which he had lived and was ready to die. He then read a statement which thus begins:

“Being in a few moments to appear before the Tribunal of God where, though most unworthy, I hope to find mercy, which I have not found from men now in power, I have endeavoured to make my peace with His Divine Majesty, by most humbly begging pardon for all the sins of my life; and I doubt not of merciful forgiveness through the merits of the Passion and Death of my Saviour Jesus Christ, for which end I earnestly desire the prayers of all good Christians.”

After a short explanation of his loyalty to King James, he spoke his last words to the world:

“Wherefore if in that affair I have acted rashly, it ought not to affect the innocent. I intended to wrong nobody, but to serve my King and Country, and that without self-interest, hoping by the example I gave to have induced others to their duty; and God, who sees the secrets of my heart, knows I speak truth. Some means have been proposed to me for saving my life, which I looked upon as inconsistent with Honour and Conscience, and therefore I rejected them, for with God's

assistance I shall prefer my Death to the doing a base, unworthy action. I only wish now that the laying down my life might contribute to the service of my King and Country, and the re-establishment of the ancient and fundamental Constitution of these kingdoms, without which no lasting peace or true happiness can attend them. Then I should part with life even with pleasure ; as it is, I can only pray that these blessings may be bestowed upon my Dear Country, and since I can do no more, I beseech God to accept of my life as a small sacrifice towards it.

"I die a Roman Catholic. I am in perfect charity with all the world ; I thank God for it, even with those of the present Government who are most instrumental in my death. I freely forgive such as ungenerously reported false things of me ; and I hope to be forgiven the trespasses of my youth by the Father of infinite Mercy, into whose hands I commend my soul."

"God save the King !" cried the Sheriff. "Aye, God save King James !" answered Derwentwater, as he knelt before the block. The executioner paused for a few minutes till the Earl had finished a last prayer. Then, on a pre-arranged signal—his pronouncing thrice the most Holy Name—his head was severed from the body by a single stroke, and a soul that had been faithful unto death went forth on its way.

Immediately after the execution both head and body were delivered to the Countess, and a pretended funeral seems to have taken place at St. Giles's. The remains, however, were really conveyed to the house of one Roger Metcalfe, a surgeon, in Brownlow Street, Drury Lane. This Roger Metcalfe was a Catholic of an old Yorkshire family. The surgeon (not the Countess herself, as has been gruesomely stated) sewed the head to the body, and extracted the heart, in accordance, it must be supposed, with some wish of the dead Earl. It remained to fulfil his constantly repeated desire : "Let my body lie at Dilston ; bury me among my own people." So from Brownlow Street the corpse was conveyed to Dagenham Park, near Romford, where it lay for some days in the chapel, till a start for Northumberland could be made with the necessary secrecy. The hearse, driven by Dunn, the late Earl's coachman, was accompanied by the Countess and by his faithful servant, Francis Wilson. Highways were avoided, and the journeys mostly made by night, the body resting

by day in some Catholic house or chapel till the Cheviots came into view. "The priest," writes Dunn, the coachman, in a letter describing that sad and secret journey,

"met the corpse at Sunderland Bridge, two miles from Durham, about six o'clock in the evening, on the sixth of March about the back of the town. A most beautiful glory appeared over the hearse, which all saw, sending forth resplendent streams of all sorts of colours to the east and west, the finest that ever I saw in my life ; it hung like a delicate rich curtain, it continued a quarter and half of an hour over the hearse, there was a great light seen at night in several places and people flocked all night from Durham to see."

The *Aurora Borealis* is still known in Northumberland as "Derwentwater's Light." At last Dilston was reached in safety ; and there, in the little chapel by the old hall, with no sort of pomp, and almost by stealth, was laid the body of him who had rode out from the gate so gallantly not five months ago—then the greatest man in all the North, now the mangled corpse of an attainted rebel, who had perished on the scaffold by the hand of the law. Only one priest was present to perform the last rites of the Church ; and no person of rank was there. Nevertheless, the chapel was thronged with mourners, for the "Good Earl," as he is still called in his own country, had been very dear to the poor. "Thousands of both sexes," says the writer of a contemporary account of him, "subsisted by his charity ; and if the King has by his execution lost an enemy, the fatherless, the widows, and objects of compassion for many miles round his seat, have lost in him the best of friends."

The vast Derwentwater estates, forfeit to the Crown, were granted to Greenwich Hospital in 1731. In 1805 a Commission visited Dilston, and in the course of an official inspection had the Earl's coffin opened. On removing the cerecloth the body, though buried for ninety years, was found in complete preservation. The lines of the face and the complexion were almost as in life, and there was no perceivable trace of decay. Around the throat a reddish line showed the work of the axe, and the threads used for sewing the head to the body were plainly to be seen. The long hair was bright and glossy, and the teeth perfect and firm. The coffin was left open for several days, and visited by

many persons ; and a blacksmith contrived to extract some of the teeth, which he sold at half-a-crown each. This final outrage succeeded in scandalising even the Commissioners, who ordered the coffin to be refastened, and closed the chapel. When, some thirty years ago, the Government determined to sell the estates, leave was given to the then Lord Petre, Derwentwater's direct descendant in the fifth degree and lineal heir, to remove the bodies of his ancestors, the Radcliffes, from Dilston Chapel. Of the six coffins there, five were transferred to a vault in the Catholic grave-yard at Hexham ; but the body of Derwentwater himself was conveyed to the chantry chapel at Thorndon Hall, Lord Petre's seat near Brentwood, in Essex. Even this removal had to be carried out with some secrecy, on account of the strong feeling against it in Northumberland.

So there, at Thorndon, in the guardianship of his Catholic heirs, rest all the earthly remains of James Radcliffe—all save one, the heart, that had been extracted by Roger Metcalfe immediately after the execution. This seems to have remained for a time in the custody of the surgeon, for there exists a certificate, signed Henry Radbourne, dated March 27, 1716, and addressed to the Countess, to the effect that one Bridget Canning, of the "Three Coffins," Holly Street, Clare Market, was perfectly cured of an illness by touching the "blessed heart" of Lord Derwentwater, "which she is ready to attest on oath, as are also Mrs. Griffiths, the dancing-master's wife in Porter Street, and several other persons who are about her." The forwarding letter further mentions the case of a boy afflicted with the king's evil, whom Roger Metcalfe permitted to touch the same "blessed heart" in the faith that he would be cured, but the result is not stated. Another statement dated April 23, 1716, alleges the cure of a lady named Errington on touching the heart. Again, a lady named Eliza Shafto writes to the Countess in July, 1716, that she had prayed before the heart for the conversion of her husband, "an obstinate enemy to religion"; and, in the following September, that her prayer had been granted. Ensuing correspondence shows it to have been received from the Countess by one E. Davies, in the Low Countries,

for transmission to the English Augustinian nuns in Paris—presumably the destination intended by the Earl himself. Anne Tyldesley, the prioress, writes on October 23, 1716, to thank the Countess for her noble legacy—the heart—“which your Ladyship’s charity has enriched us with.” She calls it “a most bountiful succour”; a “dear deposition.” She regrets that she is not allowed to tell the rest of the nuns that the heart is with them, and says, “they are richer than they know they are.”

In September, 1718, Father Pippard writes from France to the Countess:

“I can only tell you that neither by the looks nor by the smell could I perceive anything like the least corruption, and the R. Mother assures me that ’tis not in the least wasted or changed since she has had it. She keeps it in her cell, and so secretly that she tells me there is not one besides me in the house that knows she has it; ’tis easy to be seen there has no art been used to it, so that certainly I should think it supernatural. This short account has really renewed my joy, though I must confess it says nothing but what I was satisfied of before.”

The latest letter on the subject is a strange and sad one. It was written from and on behalf of the English Augustinian Convent at Neuilly, in November 1874:

“We read with deep interest the account of the removal of Lord Derwentwater’s body to Thorndon Hall, and it was a consolation to us in the grief we have all experienced in being deprived of the treasure confided to us of his Lordship’s noble heart, which he himself bequeathed to us before his execution in 1716. It had been preserved in our church at Paris in a small monument kept with religious respect, and up to 1793 an annual requiem was sung for the repose of the Earl’s soul. At that period the community, foreseeing that the revolutionary storm was about to burst over their heads, took what precautions they could, and buried many of the venerable relics and souvenirs which they possessed. The heart of the Earl of Derwentwater was concealed in the choir wall, where it remained untouched, although the house was sacked and pillaged, and the church half-ruined. All, however, went on tolerably well till 1860, when the Government required our grounds to make a new street, and we removed to a new house built at Neuilly. In 1870, just before the siege of Paris by the Prussians, we retired into Brittany, but our property in Neuilly remained uninjured, and we prepared to return home at Easter, 1871, when the Communist insurrection broke out; our convent was made a barracks

for six weeks, for twelve hundred of those lawless men, who pillaged and desecrated and almost ruined the place ; but our greatest loss and affliction was that they had broken open the small vault and carried off the chest in which we had deposited the heart of Lord Derwentwater, so faithfully preserved and treasured for more than one hundred and fifty years."

The chest, it will have been noted, was "carried off," it is not said to have been destroyed. There is, therefore, some faint hope that the precious relic it contained may still be in existence, and therefore not absolutely irrecoverable. Of course, the hope is of the faintest. Happily, there is a better hope that is also strong. We may surely hope that so true and so saintly a heart as James Radcliffe's will never cease to speak to the heart of every Catholic Englishman. Indeed, it is speaking to other English hearts also, if we may judge from a fine sonnet on "Derwentwater's Light" from a non-Catholic pen :—

Red on the Cheviots gleamed the Northern Light
When Derwentwater came to Dilston Hall ;
And crimson throbbings flickered on the pall
Of him who gave his life for Faith and Right.

And still when flashes, lighting up the height,
Bring back the memory of the good Earl's fall,
By his loved name the simple peasants call
Those wild fire-beacons of the Polar night.

All in blood-red James Radcliffe's sun went down,
And blood-red blushed the true and tender North ;
But in the radiance of the Holy Place,
Where stands the loyal host to see God's Face,
White like the Rose of Truth the sheen goes forth
Of Derwentwater's Light—the Martyr's Crown.

R. E. FRANCILLON.

ART. III.—TRUE AND FALSE REFORM.

IF we are indebted to Protestantism for the word Reform, the movement which it designates has been going on in the Church from the earliest ages. The very expression, Church militant, implies a struggle with the powers of evil, and one of the worst forms of evil is the inherent tendency in man to degenerate from any given standard. The difference between the Catholic and the Protestant idea of reform is that in one case a restoration, a conversion of life, is aimed at, with the elimination of abuses that have, from time to time, grown up like weeds around certain doctrines and popular practices of devotion ; whereas in the other a clean sweep is made of the doctrines and pious practices themselves. History is for ever repeating itself in some of its aspects, and there is in these days in different countries of Europe a clamour for reform that is a very good imitation of the cry raised in the sixteenth century both inside and outside the Church.

The violent *Los von Rom* movement in Germany, which already promises to end in complete failure, need not detain us now ; but the various malcontents inside the Church, calling our attention to this or that flaw in our armour, are not so quickly disposed of. They have little in common with reformers such as Geiler and Johannes Busch in Germany, as John Colet and Blessed Thomas More in England, who, together with Erasmus of Rotterdam, worked towards a general levelling up of learning and morals. The reformers and would-be reformers of to-day, thanks to the healthier state of the body politic, have no very vital principles to fight for. Many of them would, perhaps, scarcely think of fighting at all were it not for the Protestant philosophers of Germany and the higher critics, such as Harnack and Delitsch, who have led the way. The

French school of modern Catholic reformers can thus scarcely be said to have much in common with Colet or with Erasmus and Budæus, whose study of the Bible was, at least, as profound as theirs.

In the course of the last ten years two separate ideas have commended themselves to the Church of France. These are Kantism and the higher biblical criticism : the one tending to sap the foundations of belief in favour of a shallow, hazy idealism ; the other endangering the doctrines of revelation, and the sources of faith contained in Scripture and tradition. In both these matters the authority of the Holy See has been invoked. The Encyclical *Providentissimus* of November 18, 1893, dealing with the study of Scripture, was called forth by various publications of French biblical exegesis. The Encyclical addressed to the French bishops on September 8, 1899, contained a warning against Protestant philosophical influences proceeding from the other side of the Rhine. Of one and the other of these burning questions we have a thoroughly historical and categorical account, the Abbé Houtin having described *La Question Biblique chez les Catholiques de France au dix-neuvième Siècle* in a treatise bearing this title, and Leclère having given a very accurate and detailed description of the Catholic-Kantian movement in France down to the year 1902. Both these works reveal the fact that each of the two streams supposed to be making for reform contains more dangerous under-currents than was at first suspected ; and it is to be feared that even now these have not completely disappeared by the intervention of the highest ecclesiastical authority.

The deeper and more suspicious of these under-currents is undoubtedly the exegetic-critical which has found an exponent in the Abbé Loisy, certain of whose books have recently been placed on the Index. The excitement caused by this action of the Holy Office, resulting in a fresh outburst of activity on the part of French theological literature and journalism, which simply swarm with pamphlets and articles for and against Loisy, for and against Loisyism, has roused lively echoes in Italy, Germany, and England.

In 1889 Loisy was appointed Professor of Scripture at the

Institut Catholique, having occupied the chair of Hebrew since 1881, and lectured to crowded audiences on the exegesis of the Old and New Testament. He began in 1892 to edit a review—*L'Enseignement Biblique*—the first number of which appeared simultaneously with the first number of the *Revue Biblique*, edited by the Dominican Père Lagrange. Loisy's method was purely historical and critical, the Abbé repudiating all intention of initiating a theological course or of writing a dogmatic apology. But a number of problems in the Old and New Testament came under discussion, causing much sensation by the novelty of his exegesis. About the same time he wrote a history of the Canon of Scripture, and defended his views in numerous pamphlets. Novel as these views were, his method was not entirely original, it having been introduced into France by Renan who, inspired by German criticism, imitated Strauss and gave in his own country the impetus to new exegetical studies. Although Renan was outside the Church, and although his *Vie de Jésus* was trivial and frivolous, his history of the origins of Christianity superficial, his knowledge of Semitic languages and his beautiful literary style made a deep impression and paved the way for Loisy and others. Belief in the ancient history of Israel was considerably shaken. Disputes arose as to whether or no the Scriptures contained errors in minor matters, whether the Hexameron was to be explained verbally or allegorically, whether the Flood was universal or restricted locally, whether the history of the patriarchs was to be understood *quâ* history, and so on. The then rector of the Institut Catholique, Mgr. d'Hulst, began a discussion in the *Correspondant* on the "Question biblique," in which he differentiated between the divine and human elements in the Bible. It was this discussion that called forth the Papal Encyclical of November, 1893, in which the freedom from error of the whole Bible was declared. This decision hit Loisy harder than his rector; he was deprived of his chair of history and his review was suppressed, but he continued to write articles on exegetic subjects in the *Revue du clergé français* and in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature française*.

The translation of Harnack's *Wesen des Christenthums* into French prompted Loisy's reply *L'Evangile et l'Eglise*, not merely in order to refute Harnack, but to mark his own position with regard to biblical history. The book was forbidden by the Archbishop of Paris, and his judgment was endorsed by other bishops. In its defence Loisy wrote *Autour d'un petit livre*, an answer to his critics in the form of seven letters; and in the same year his treatises on the "Jewish Religion" and on the "Fourth Gospel" appeared in book form. Already Loisy was suspected of unorthodoxy on several points, and after the publication of his defence in *Autour d'un petit livre*, many who had hitherto been favourable to his views expressed disapproval. The prophecy contained in *Les annales de philosophie chrétienne* that the book would obtain a permanent place in French literature by the side of the "Provincial Letters" of Pascal, though an excellent tribute to Loisy's literary style, was scarcely a commendation in the eyes of ecclesiastical authorities. The *Revue du clergé français* was even less sympathetic. Unwilling to endorse Loisy's views of the Gospel of St. John, it expressed itself ready to submit to the authority of the Church whenever she found it expedient to exercise it, and declared further that it was difficult to reconcile many of Loisy's theories with Catholic doctrine.

Lagrange had already written a volume on the subject of biblical exegesis, guarding himself against the conclusions at which the Abbé Loisy has arrived, and his opinions are shared by many of the higher critics whose Catholicity is beyond doubt. According to these, the Scriptures were written in special historical circumstances by men who shared the knowledge of their day concerning natural events in history, geography, astronomy, cosmology, etc. Even divine communications must be imparted in a form intelligible to the recipients of such revelations and to their contemporaries. As concerned the Old Testament, tradition cannot have been entirely ignored in the economy of revelation. The Evangelists were also chosen from a certain class among the Jews, and they wrote on special events with special objects in view. In order to arrive at a right understanding of Scripture it is necessary to study

contemporary history, and there is no fear that historical criticism will be dangerous to the facts of revelation if such criticism remains within its legitimate boundary.

But Loisy has not been careful to keep within this boundary. Not content with the liberty accorded to him by modern Catholic exegesis of regarding the first eleven chapters of Genesis as merely representing certain ideas, and of judging the Pentateuch to be a late compilation from various sources, and so on, he has allowed himself to be strongly influenced by anti-Catholic German critics, until he has fallen into the errors that have brought about the condemnation of his theories. In dealing with New Testament history his ground is still more untenable, for he rejects with Harnack and others the historical authority of the fourth Gospel, and not only adopts the theory of the dual sources of the first and third Gospels, but expresses doubt as to whether we have in any of the Evangelists a perfectly authentic record of events, or the actual words of our Lord Himself. The story as told in the New Testament he regards as an epitome of floating tradition, a justification of the faith of the Christian community at the time of its origin. The work and mission of our Lord suffer no less at Loisy's hands than His person and essence. He is only so far the Son of God as He is the Messiah, and His Messiahship was only to begin with His speedy return. He died in full confidence of this second advent in triumph, by reason of which He omitted to lay down laws for the government of His community. The Church was not founded by Him, but was developed as the need arose, out of the principles which He had inculcated. The same applies to the Sacraments, and the meaning of our Lord's sacrificial death was only discovered by St. Paul. Carrying these theories to a conclusion, Loisy goes on to suggest that dogmas are no longer permanent deposits of revealed truth, but are to be understood as belonging to the periods of history for which they are defined, and are, therefore, only unchanging in their essence, but not immutable in their form and expression. But if such ideas as these are to be tolerated in France, it remains a question, not whether France shall in future be Catholic or Protestant, but simply

whether it will remain Christian ; and the wonder is not that Loisy's theories have been condemned, but that any reasonable being could suppose that when examined authoritatively they could have escaped censure. Ideas may not, indeed, be "beaten out with rods," but some ideas are so outrageous as to stultify themselves ; and we have yet to discover any sense in which this phase of "higher criticism" can be a movement towards true reform.

In Germany, Protestant philosophy has little attraction for Catholic reformers ; and Professor Ehrhard in his much-discussed and already celebrated book, *Catholicism and the Twentieth Century*, is in no way concerned with biblical criticism. His cry, and that of the school he represents, is rather, "Away with the after-effects of Mediævalism, for they stand in the way of the present aims of the Catholic Church and are to be regarded as a hindrance to the real inwardness of modern culture." Amid much that is excellent in his book must be discounted a certain wilful ignoring of the continuity between the great periods of the Catholic ages, which causes him to err in an inverse direction from the modern French school of criticism. "We, who have the consciousness," says Professor Grisar, "of living in a house containing the rich spiritual legacies of the past, in unison with all that has since been added to its fairness and symmetrical proportions, are not accustomed to inquire anxiously as to what has absolute and intrinsic, and what only relative value. The importance of the difference between essentials and non-essentials does not persuade us to content ourselves with bare walls, or to discard from the house such things of which it might be said : 'this or that is not in character with the modern world ; away with it.' What is really antiquated is already doomed, and will, in due course, be superseded by what is better, under the direction of ecclesiastical authority."*

But if we ask Professor Ehrhard what he would wish to see abolished, and why, he replies as to the first part of the question by submitting that such a matter requires "a volume in itself." As to the wherefore of abolishing so

* H. Grisar, S.J., Professor at the University of Innsbruck, *Das Mittelalter einst und jetzt*, p. 66.

wholesale and indefinite a series of mediæval observances, we are told that the reason for it lies in the necessity of a friendly understanding with prevalent ideas, in order to prove the capacity of Catholicism for modern culture.*

The plea is the same as that put forward by some of the friends of the Abbé Loisy, who would fain have a religion to present to the unbeliever that may perchance be acceptable to him. But after all, when we had made the most humiliating sacrifices, and had thrown overboard everything labelled "non-essential," would these ultra-liberal ideas be satisfied? Would not modern culture still cry out, "Give, give!" and instead of converting the few, should we not have earned the contempt of the world?

"A little Catholic *amour propre*," says Father Grisar, "and respect for our great traditions, is no want of virtue, let Chamberlain, Mommsen, Harnack, and others say what they will."†

It is only fair to add that Professor Ehrhard, in a reply to his critics, declares that he condemns liberal Catholicism even as the Catholic Church condemns it; and that he belongs to that school of theology which may be described as "moderately advanced," in distinction, no doubt, to the higher conservatism that prefers to believe in the authenticity of certain relics after they have been proved up to the hilt to be spurious.

Meanwhile, without attracting much attention, a very real reform is being set on foot by those best qualified to deal with it. Pope Pius X., in matters of Canon Law and Moral Theology, belongs to the advanced guard of reformers, for due respect to the Middle Ages does not preclude the abandonment of some things mediæval, which are out of date in these days. As regards the actual state of Canon Law, it is encumbered with much that was valuable only as corresponding to circumstances of a bygone age, and its revision was one of the things resolved on by the Vatican Council of 1871, and is now to be proceeded with

* *Der Katholicismus und das zwanzigste Jahrhundert im Lichte der Kirchlichen Entwicklung der Neuzeit.* Von Dr. Albert Ehrhard, Professor an der Universität Wien, p. 353.

† *Das Mittelalter einst und jetzt*, p. 68.

immediately. An illustration of the desirability of some weeding is afforded by the penal system against heretics, which has long become a useless appendage.

Bishop Keppler, when Professor at the University of Freiburg in Breisgau, was the first to declare openly that the present condition of Moral Theology was not such as to adequately meet the requirements of modern times. This statement led to a lengthened discussion on Casuistry a year ago, resulting in a resolution that its reform was necessary, and that, avoiding all needless hair-splitting, regard should be had to the burning questions of the time and the susceptibilities of the modern mind, without, of course, sacrificing one iota of the principles of Christian ethics.

Besides these important changes the order of studies in seminaries and theological institutions is to be thoroughly overhauled. Priests are to be educated so that their contact with the world may be in every sense beneficial to souls, and not harmful to themselves. Their attitude towards literature, art, and social politics must naturally be different from what it was when the Church, so to speak, was in the Catacombs, or when, as in some of the countries of Europe, a patriarchal state obtained between the presbytery and the parish.

Even the laity are encouraged to pursue theological studies, to love the liturgy of the Church, and to make of their act of faith an act of the intellect. The *quærere intellectum fidei* must not be lost sight of in times when human understanding is throning it all over the world. Moreover, the individual is not forgotten, for the aggregate is made up of units, and Bishop Keppler is not alone in urging each and everyone to reform himself, to display that strength of character, which is more than ever needful in the midst of the wild unrest, the startling theories, the brand-new scientific problems and hasty conclusions with which society is teeming everywhere. A more loyal attachment to the Church is inculcated by a life of faith, of willing obedience to the voice of authority, not merely as regards *ex cathedra* utterances, but in less absolutely binding matters; more modesty in criticising the action of ecclesiastical superiors, and, where it is possible, greater clearness and precision of

thought. It is pointed out that there has of late years come to be too much haziness, too much dallying with Liberal views of Catholicism, resulting in a blurred outline of vision, that has much to answer for in the false notions of reform that prevail.

In conclusion, it may be well to point out that the greatest scandals that have ever disfigured the fair face of Christianity have always been the outcome of things good in themselves, but tending to evil by their abuse. Thus the Bible, one of the most precious inheritances of the Catholic Church, becomes an incomprehensible mass of contradictory doctrines leading to the wildest speculation when it is given over to the vagaries of private interpretation. Only in the hands of an infallible interpreter can it carry its divine message to the individual understanding. When the Abbé Loisy set out to refute Professor Harnack his mind was imbued with so profound a faith in the Church that he seems to have underrated the value of Scripture. His refutation may or may not have been complete; but in making it Loisy shifted his ground and, instead of being the mouthpiece of the Church, he only adds another wild hypothesis to the long and wearisome list of private interpretations. Even the desire to serve the Church requires to be kept in order, for this too in the hands of indiscretion may become a prolific source of abuse.

"I preach," says a zealous and enlightened German priest, "a life of faith with deeply-laid foundations, but I also teach a good understanding of that faith. All movements towards true reform follow a middle course, between the hyper-conservatives who would scrupulously retain every trivial detail of mediævalism, and the revolutionaries who wish and strive to overthrow everything; and in following this road I am moved solely by intense love of the Catholic Church. With Bishop Keppler, I lay all the need and suggestions for reform in the wounded hands and pierced heart of Him who must be the beginning, middle, and end of all true reform, the God Man, Jesus Christ, praying Him to reform us all truly, and to send upon us the Spirit of God, the spirit of truth."

J. M. STONE.

ART. IV.—THE NECESSARY INFERENCE.

THE questions, problems and difficulties associated with the rational proofs of the existence of God are of an importance rightly appreciated by the subject with which they are so intimately connected. There is no part of natural or rational science so essential as that which treats professedly of the Cause of causes,* for here, if anywhere, in its truest and broadest sense, is to be found the principle or truth which unifies the whole subject-matter of philosophy. It is to this point that all the paths and by-ways which the student treads ultimately lead. Here they converge and unite in the beginning and end of all human reason, God and the things of God, known dimly and inadequately, it may be, without the supernatural light of revelation, but still known,† and certainly known by the unaided power of the human intellect. It is for this reason that I make no apology in presenting the following consideration of what appears to me to constitute, for perhaps the majority of people, a very specious, if not altogether a very real, objection to the "five ways" of our philosophical system. These five great arguments are too well known and generally too justly appreciated by Catholic scholars to need any explanation or elaboration here. They are the great classic proofs given by St. Thomas Aquinas in the *Summa Theologica*,‡ which, under one form or another, have been put forward whenever an explanation has been sought for the world and its contents. They appeal with

* C. G., L. I., cap. iv., " . . . ad summum fastigium humanæ inquisitionis . . . scilicet Dei cognitionem."

† C. G., L. I., cap. ii.; *Summa*, Pars 1a, Q. ii., a 2.

‡ *Summa*, Pars 1a, Q. ii., a 3.

varying force and cogency to various classes of minds. For some the argument based upon causality is the most conclusive; indeed, St. Thomas himself, in the supposition that the world is not eternal, states* that this is the most efficacious line of reasoning. Others perceive a greater weight of evidence in the teleological proof; while not a few are of the opinion that the inference from contingency constitutes, of all others, the most conclusive and convincing argument proving the existence of God. Be their relative value, however, what it may, the schools of Catholic Philosophy agree in holding that the existence of God is reasonably demonstrated by any one of the five proofs advanced and developed by St. Thomas. The conclusion is not pointed to as a five-fold weight of moral certainty. The truth is not proved cumulatively. Each and every "way" is sufficient in itself to demonstrate the categorical proposition, "God exists."

Against these proofs singly from time to time objections have been urged which have called forth further investigation and generally resulted in a re-statement of the original line of proof. In the name of Science the high priests of Materialism have attacked the stronghold of theistic philosophy. We have been told that causality is a myth. We have learned at the feet of our new teachers that there is no such thing as purposive finality to be discovered in nature; that the old doctrine of creation, or of the origin of life, has become impossible in the new light of fresh facts discovered by a science that takes itself very seriously indeed. Treatises have been written from every scientific or quasi-scientific point of view to disprove; and every fresh advance of the experimental sciences furnishes material for the protagonists of the modern godless philosophy.

Doubtless we do well to listen and to read what the supporters of this phase of science have to say, for there are many whose beliefs are largely influenced by whatever dogmatic utterance comes to them under the specious cloak of scientific teaching; but we must not forget that the original problem remains the same as it was before the

* *Contra Gentiles*, L. I., cap. xiii.

scientists became dogmatists. New facts and figures have as little to do with it really as old facts and figures had. They prove themselves very awkward friends at times to those who have them most in honour. They can, it is true, help on a halting hypothesis to the dignity of becoming a theory; but they can quite as well reduce an inflated theory to less than a working hypothesis—provided always that the facts, hypotheses and theories be all of the same scientific order. But no fact of experimental science can discredit hypothesis or theory that does not belong to the limited sphere of the particular science to which the fact pertains. The problem of the existence of God, like those of the ultimate constitution of matter and the origin of life, can hope for little assistance, perhaps, from the vast array of facts brought forward by the chemist, or geologist, or botanist; but it certainly need fear no grievous harm from them. The problem is not to be judged by the standards or from the standpoint of any mere experimental school. The standpoint must be, as it always has been, the higher plane of metaphysical enquiry; the horizon must be the wider one of philosophy.

The scientists should show no surprise in failing to find God in their experiments—traces of Him, likely enough, they do encounter, for many are there—for mere scientific principles are not sufficient to construct Him from the seals which He has placed upon His handiwork. This is the work of the philosopher; just as it is the work of the philosopher, and not of the anatomist, to discover the existence and nature of the human soul from the manifest actions of the human being.

However, it is not my purpose now to touch upon any objection affecting directly only one line of proof. Against all the arguments based upon the existence of sensible beings, the change or motion which is perceived in them, the relations of causality by which they are bound together, the varying grades of life with which some of them are endowed, the purposive adjustment of finality which is apparent in their construction and mutual arrangement, and the comparative degrees in which they seem to be placed with regard to what we conceive of as being absolute

beauty, truth and fulness of existence*—against all the classic arguments of the schools by which the existence of God is inferred as a necessary conclusion, one common objection is not infrequently urged that merits something more than a merely cursory examination. If we call the conclusion a truth of reason or a fact, certain in itself, pointed to by the created world as it exists, and adequately accounting for the being, order and relationships perceived in that created world, the objection still stands; for it is urged rather against the inherent power of reason than against the material of the several arguments. In it lies one of the most important—if not the most important—fact of reason, the recognition and true appreciation of which is of no small moment. The objection itself is one which, as it is stated, possesses much of the semblance of truth and is apparently in very many cases convincing; and this precisely because it appeals to the native weakness and limitations of the intellect: a weakness and limitations undoubtedly felt and acknowledged the more by every thinker as he advances in the acquisition of knowledge. It might be stated upon broad lines in some such form as the following: "We recognise the reality of those phenomena from which you seek to prove the existence of a God. We are prepared to admit the existence of real beings in the universe. We are ready to concede, if you will, that these beings, as far as the sense-impressions by which they act upon us go, must be thought of as both transitory in their nature and essentially inadequate to explain or account for the fact that they are found in the order of existing things. But, try as we may, we are unable to bridge over the immense gulf which lies between the world of our actual experience and any being or beings with which our experience has in reality nothing whatever to do. We cannot infer from those beings which we know a being of a totally diverse order; one which, by reason of its very nature, can neither come to us as an actual experience nor as a part of any actual experience. If thereby we confess our inability to give any good reason for the existence of those things

* Cf. *Summa*, Pars. 1a, Q. ii., a 3.

with which our senses do acquaint us, if we are forced to admit that the apparent arrangement of causality or finality means no more to us than an unexplainable succession, or an equally inexplicable adaption of parts in a whole, we take refuge in the native weakness of our faculty of reasoning; we urge the limitations of our powers of thought. We are prepared to admit the facts; we concede all that our experience can teach us; but beyond this we cannot go. To do so is not to infer: it is to create. We are not warranted in concluding from the experience at our disposal that God exists; if we did seem so to conclude we would really at the most be creating a God having existence in our minds alone; and this in order to explain and account for fact and experience, which in reality has no other justification than that it is fact and that we have experienced it."

The difficulty applies chiefly to two cardinal points of Catholic Philosophy. On the one hand, the doctrine of universals is indirectly involved—a doctrine which was, and still is, professed by a school not the less large or important because comparatively little known to those for whom such an objection has the greatest weight. We are reminded that there are still both Nominalists and Conceptionalists at work upon the great problems that have so large a practical bearing and influence upon our lives. On the other hand, we cannot close our eyes to the presence of the destructive Positivism of Comte in the temper of mind which is so universal at the present time. The conclusive power of reason is impugned. The objection, in raising afresh questions upon these points, deserves a hearty welcome if the considerations to which it gives rise are followed up to their logical end. The answer may be found to be a difficult or an easy one. It may be straightforward or obscure. In no case ought the difficulty, a very persuasive one in many cases, to be shirked. It is, therefore, my intention, passing over the question of universals—not indeed as unimportant in itself or in its general bearings upon this department of philosophy, but as easily accessible to anyone who takes the trouble to open a text-book—to examine upon broad lines the second portion of the difficulty

urged, leaving to those to whom the question is of interest, and I cannot but think that they are many, to fill in the *lacunae*, and add those details which would, if fully treated, necessitate somewhat more of space than is at my disposal.

There are two ways for accounting for the conclusion that transcends the experience from which it is inferred; but we must be careful to avoid the danger of ontologism in developing one of the explanations. This doctrine is so perilously like the truth, or rather, it has so much of truth mixed with its fundamental assumption, that one is apt to fall into an ontological position almost without perceiving it, even when that is precisely the event which he desires most to avoid.

In the first place, then, we can justify the necessary conclusion, "God exists," by pointing to the analogy which is to be perceived between all arguments which produce it, and arguments leading from other premisses to the conclusions proper to them. We are able to infer the fact that a great fire is raging by the lurid reflection in the sky, the dense smoke, the falling sparks and ashes, the intense heat. From the reactions in the test tube we infer the presence of such or such a base. We conclude that Pompeii was once a rich and prosperous city from the remains of the buildings which are to be found at the foot of Vesuvius. Is it then an illogical or unwarrantable inference to conclude that there is a God from the vast number of possible effects which we perceive in such variety, order, and relations? The retort is forthcoming: "From the indications in the previous examples you had a right to conclude, for your conclusions did not leave the material realm of fact and observation. In the latter you have transcended all possible experience and therefore your conclusion cannot be accepted." The difficulty is there: there is no doubt about it. The watch had a maker; but the watchmaker had a father. Moreover, watch, watchmaker and father are in the order of fact and experience. Even if we consider that God is a being as well—though in a vastly different sense—as His works; that the nature of secondary causes is causative as well as that of the first cause; that a universal teleology has something in common with partial arrange-

ment to an end ; the objection holds good : and though we may still be inclined to attribute the force of conviction to the analogy of the arguments, it is because, as I hope to show, this is no more than a lower grasp upon and insight into the real conclusive force of the classic arguments considered by themselves alone. No appeal to analogy is necessary. It may be useful, as furnishing an easy method of comparison. But the proofs themselves are unique. Indeed they must be so from the very nature of the conclusion to which they lead ; and therefore some other justification seems necessary in order to meet the objection of inferring a transcendental conclusion from sensible facts of experience. The explanation, or the way of accounting for the fact that from the sensible data of experience we do conclude that God exists, is that it is an inevitable consequence of the possession of our reasoning faculties that we should do so. Nor is this, as at first sight it may appear, a begging of the question. The consequence may be in itself inexplicable. It is difficult to perceive how one actually does pass from sensible beings to the transcendental ; but it in no wise follows that the transition is unnatural or the conclusion invalid. Granted that right reason is our natural and unfailing guide to knowledge—and *de facto* it is our only guide—it follows that, as far as we are concerned, we must accept all its inevitable conclusions. We may deny them ; but only by doing violence to ourselves. We may doubt, in order more closely to examine them ; but we cannot rid ourselves of them.

This is not in any way the position maintained by the ontologists. With them the transition is from the idea to the reality : the idea of that than which nothing greater can be thought is the correlative of the actual existence of a being than which no greater can exist. One might conceivably be tempted to say that the inference here was also a necessary one, and advance such great names as those of St. Anselm, Descartes, or, in still more recent years, Ubaghs, to lend colour to the assertion. But sound philosophy is as averse to such an opinion as the vast majority of philosophers. For every one who attempts a defence of the ontological argument *as it is*

stated, a hundred or a thousand are found criticising and rejecting it. If the ontological "idea" be possessed in virtue of one or more of the standard lines of proof, then indeed, the conclusion is true, not because of any value in the form of St. Anselm or Descartes, but because of the necessary inference already made in the classic arguments. Such an "idea" is a conclusion, not a premise.

But observe : the arguments used by St. Thomas himself—and I take these as being in brief the substance of all the valid arguments of natural theology that have ever been advanced—beginning with an examination of sensible things, pass rapidly to general ideas, and from these general ideas to a transcendental being whom we call God who is inferred as a necessary existence in order to explain the existence of beings which are not necessary. How we actually span the gulf between nature and the transcendental may be a mystery; but it is a necessity of our nature that we should do so. It is therefore a necessity of our nature to infer God from what, in the very act of that inference, we learn to call His creatures. What is the method by which we seek to convince one who denies any one of our five arguments? Evidence alone can produce certainty—immediate evidence of the truth to be proved or the mediate evidence of its connection with self-evident principles. We assert, for example, there are contingent beings. There must then be a necessary being. Nothing more is involved than the evidence of the fact that possible beings exist, and the certainty of the principle that possible beings cannot furnish in themselves any reason why they should actually be. We are dealing here with primitive facts; and in the words of Aristotle, punned upon by the mediæval scribe, our adversaries are to be controverted *non verbis sed verberibus*.

But notice further that a transition closely akin to this is made in all the departments of thought whenever we enunciate a general proposition, fix upon a principle, or formulate a law. I am not here attempting to build up a theory of knowledge; and in order to avoid what would otherwise be a necessity, I take ready-made that system of epistemology which, apart from its intrinsic merits, is

already, I am sure, understood and thoroughly approved by all the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW. Knowledge—it is the teaching of the Stagyrte and of St. Thomas—begins in sense-perception. There is nothing in the intellect that has not previously been in the sense. The receptivity and the activity of the faculty are both brought into play in the act of understanding; and it is for this reason that the intellect is divided into the *intellectus agens* and the *intellectus possibilis* of Scholastic Philosophy, a doctrine which holds the high position in psychology that the distinction of *actus* and *potentia* has in metaphysics. The operations of the active and possible intellect are totally distinct in themselves. The activity with which the mind in every act of its reasoning seizes upon sense-impressions and transforms them in such wise that it is able to contemplate them receptively is not the identical receptivity which it furnishes with sense-impressions stripped of their sensible elements. If there were no active intellect to remove them, the presence of these elements would effectually prevent our understanding any general principle, statement, or formula. More than this, they would form an insuperable obstacle to the understanding of any intelligible genus or species; and we would be cognisant of our sense-impressions and of their specific difference only in so far as the *common-sense* of the schools could separate them one from another as different sensations. And even this, I think, we would fail to do. Would not the statue of Condillac, endowed with two senses, fancy itself blue and fragrant—to fix upon sight and smell alone—or, rather, a fragrant blue?

The acting intellect takes its place in Catholic Psychology as a necessary agent in rendering sense-cognition intelligible to the mind. But it is precisely at this point that the questions may be put forward: "What guarantee have we that the result is in accord with truth? How can it be shown that the generalised result follows from the individual examples; the perceived intellectual truth from the sense-impressions originally felt?" It cannot be shown, it is true, in any strict form of demonstration; but its guarantee is the fact of our rational nature. We must accept it as

we find it ; and, having accepted it, we must obey its laws. No matter what explanation be given of the process itself, we are obliged to come back to this primitive fact of reasoning, and to point to it as the justification of its results. For example, take the proposition man is a reasoning animal. This expresses a truth in the possession of our reason. Whence do we derive it ? There is not, and cannot be, in any one of the sense-impressions which together go to form the material upon which the reason works, any formal indication of animality or rationality. On the contrary, there are numerous isolated experiences, all of a sensible nature, from which we abstract the ideas of animality and of rationality ; and in the definition of man we combine these two ideas concretely by saying that he is a rational animal. In this process we have (1) abstracted from concrete experiences two general ideas, in themselves applicable to no known concretely existing being ; (2) we have combined them by adding to the note (or notes) of animality that of rationality ; and (3) considering the resultant idea as having its concrete counterpart in the objects from which the original sense-impressions were derived, we formulate what, but for the process of reason which has meanwhile taken place and its result, would be the tautological judgment—man is a rational animal.

Or consider the nature and properties of the triangle. It is not necessary, in order that the definition should be true, that any triangle should exist. A triangle is a plane figure bound by three straight lines. Obviously the definition differs vastly in its nature from that just given of man. The former was the generalised intellectual result derived from sense-experience. We call this concrete being a man and, in investigating its nature, we find that it is a rational animal. The definition applies to actually existing beings. But a triangle as such in mathematics is no concretely existing thing. It is already an abstraction. It is conceivable that no triangle exists ; that none ever existed or will exist. Yet we can say truly that a triangle is a plane figure enclosed by three straight lines. And this is because, even if no such thing as a straight line exists, we can form a conception of one, or of three of them, as the boundaries of

a plane figure. The triangle as conceived in our minds is not the triangle represented on the paper; and in defining the triangle we are by no means necessarily defining any concretely existing thing. We are stating that if there be a plane figure of three angles it has necessarily for its boundaries three straight lines and no more. But we can go on adding sides to this mental triangle until we have an indefinite multilateral figure. It is a property of the triangle that its three angles should be together equal to two right angles. It is a property of all polygons that the angles of any one should, taken together, be equal to twice the number of right angles as there are boundaries to the figure, less four. Here we have a still more universal conception; a more general proposition—the angles of *any* polygon are equal to twice the number of right angles as there are sides to the polygon, less four. So general is this proposition, so comprehensive, that long after we cease to perceive any sensible representation of the number of sides in our polygon, we cannot but hold that it is true.

Here again we have passed far beyond actual experience, and find ourselves in a realm where sensation is impossible, and even mental pictures or representations inadequate.

It may be objected, however, that in the case of both definitions we can verify our result by a comparison with any given sensible experience of either triangle or man; but an objection such as this ignores the entire difficulty. We can do nothing of the kind. We can not compare "rational animal," which is a conception of the intellect derived from abstract ideas, with this concrete thing which we call man; nor can we verify our statement with regard to the polygon with any sense-impressions of any definite polygon. At most we are able to verify our definitions by making use of similar processes, obtaining similar results, and comparing the former with these. Our rational nature forces us to refer our conceptions to the beings from which they were originally derived, and we recognise in this a primitive fact behind which we cannot get. We can compare man with man, wooden triangle with stone triangle, idea with idea, conception with conception, but we cannot compare man with the idea of man, or material triangle

with the conception of triangle. Does this doctrine then lead us to an ideological philosophy out of joint with the world in which we live? Not necessarily so; but it does teach us to be content with a system of thought which recognises facts as it finds them. Any given conception is formed. No amount of investigation or analysis will find it to be other than a conception and, as such, neither the reality of which it is the counterpart nor, accurately speaking, comparable to that reality, except as effect to cause. In the truth of first principles we realise necessity, but we cannot demonstrate that truth. We may theorise upon the method of its formation. We may attribute it to certain chemical changes in the grey matter of the brain, to the exciting nerve fibre, and ultimately to the action of material beings (or beings acting as such) upon the senses or nerve endings. But this is not thought or conception; and just as we pass from the ending and the fibre and the grey matter to a faculty in its nature immaterial, so we pass from the material object of sensation to the immaterial idea or thought or conception which it excites and provokes. The acting intellect is the faculty or aspect of intellect which is called in to explain the possibility of a transition from the material to the spiritual. Theories are propounded as to how it acts. But the fact is patent that a transition has been made, and that its justification, its validity, the truth and accuracy of its result, is to be sought for, not in any exterior criterion or test, but in its own nature and essence. We are reasoning beings. We have, as a matter of fact, conceptions and ideas, principles and conclusions. Precisely as reasoning beings we are bound to accept these as valid and true, or else throw reason overboard altogether; and this, notice, we are unable to do in actual life. In our intercourse with our fellows, in our own individual life, we think and reason and conclude and accept the thoughts and reasoning and conclusions of others. Indeed, we must do so, since we are what we are. Because this primitive fact on reflection—never, notice, until we begin to think reflexly—seems to us inexplicable and arbitrary, we have no right to call its validity in question.

And now to return to the conclusion of all our arguments

by which we rigidly demonstrate the existence of an extra-sensible, of a transcendental, God. To a greater extent than in the cases we have just considered we perceive here the abyss between experience on the one hand and this unprecedented conclusion on the other. Can we accept it without a murmur, without a doubt, without a rigid, searching investigation of its nature, without some justification of certainty? I maintain that its own evidence is a sufficient guarantee of its truth. In the first place, there is nothing that militates fatally against its possibility. Our experience, true, cannot point to God; but can it deny Him? Experience does not warrant our grouping together all possible polygons as having their angles equal to a definite and fixed sum of right angles. It is enough here to know that there is no intellectual principle in contradiction with the statement, and to perceive that it is a necessary one for reason to make.

Before conscious thought begins, the unconscious working of our reason leads the faculty to many, if not all, of its primary and most fundamental conclusions. So true is this fact that I think one is warranted in considering it to be the real occasion of the doctrine of innate and infused ideas. In this connection the theory of Bishop Berkeley on the sense of vision merits some consideration; and I venture to assert that, at some time or another in his life and in some form or another, some or all of the lines of reasoning by which God's existence is demonstrated lead every normal man to the conclusion that He does indeed exist—and this with an overwhelming force as compared to that of conclusions upon other subjects.

If and when he begins to doubt and, upon investigation, to perceive the transition from the facts of experience to the transcendental, he refuses to credit the natural working of his reason and arbitrarily pronounces that the conclusion is impossible, untrustworthy, or invalid, because it is unique, he has so far denied his reason that it can no longer be looked on as a trustworthy guide. But if his consideration leads him to acknowledge that he has come to a dead wall—a primitive fact which, because it is such, is inexplicable—he would do well to examine and appreciate the value of his

powers of judgment and reasoning in other matters before he declares that they have led him astray in this.

Different minds are differently biased. What is conclusive and convincing for one man seems often to be doubtful in the opinion of another. The majority never trouble their heads about the nature and validity of a transition or inference to which their attention has never been directed. Many of those whose thought penetrates beneath the surface and who set out systematically to investigate a problem which appears to merit the most serious thought, are thrown back upon various devices to justify their position or else are bound, sooner or later, to take their place in the ranks of scepticism or sophism. It is the refusal to take things as one finds them and to accept the normal and healthy workings of natural reason that engenders atheists and agnostics. But there is a *tertium quid* which does away with the necessity of fabricating bridges of hypothesis and permits of the full acceptance of this conclusion—and of others almost as difficult to justify when once called in question—which safeguards the natural reason of man and allows of its free working upon its own lines and subject to no law other than its own; and that is the recognition of the fact, dignified and raised to a principle, that all the conclusions necessarily inferred by right reason are valid and true in themselves.

In conclusion, let me call the attention of my readers to two texts of the Angelic Doctor that have a bearing upon the point in question. Did St. Thomas have this transition in view as a difficulty, which might be urged against his elaborate proofs of the existence of the Deity; or is it an objection which the wider field of knowledge opened up by modern experimental science and the superior philosophic systems which the *Zeitgeist* has brought us, oppose to the time-honoured teaching of the schools? Certainly St. Thomas saw the difficulty; and as certainly he seems to have ignored it. There is no answer, at any rate, in the sense expected by the objectors: *verberibus respondendum non verbis*. In Chapter XII. of the first book *Contra Gentiles* the Angelic Doctor has recorded this objection: If the beginnings of demonstration have their origin in

sense, those things which exceed sense and the things of sense seem to be indemonstrable.* The objection thus concludes that the existence of God is not one of those truths which are capable of proof. In reply, St. Thomas points out that, although God exceeds all sensible beings and sense itself, yet the effects of His activity, from which the demonstration of His existence proceeds, are themselves sensible, and hence our knowledge has its origin even here in sense perception.†

For the objection, urging the sense-origin of knowledge elsewhere put forward by St. Thomas, faultily concludes that God cannot be demonstrated because He does not fall under the category of sensible things. The distinction obviously made is that of sensible effect and super-sensible cause, as the commentator, Francis de Sylvestris, remarks. "It is to be noted that in this reply St. Thomas gives us to understand that the knowledge of anything can be understood as arising from sense-perception in two ways": by the thing itself falling under the perception of sense or "that the intellect is lead to a knowledge of it through some (other) thing falling under the perception of sense."

But with this distinction before his mind, it is difficult to see how St. Thomas could have overlooked the weightier objection which has been considered in the foregoing pages. It is surely more consonant with our knowledge of the Angelic Doctor and the precision of his work to suppose that not only did he perceive it, but that he voluntarily passed it over as being a fact of reason indemonstrable in itself and therefore to be asserted—or presumed—without further parley as axiomatic and indubitable.

The second reference is to the *Summa Theologica*. In Art. II., Q. II. of the first book, when treating of the same subject, "whether the existence of God is demonstrable," the objection occurs in this form. The existence

* C. G., L. I., cap. xii., § 3. "Item si demonstrationis principia a sensu cognitionis originem sumunt, ut in posterioribus ostenditur ea quae omnem sensum et sensibilia excedunt, videntur indemonstrabilia esse: hujusmodi autem est deum esse, est igitur indemonstrabile."

† *Ibid in fine*. "Patet etiam ex hoc quod et si deus sensibilia omnia et sensum excedat, ejus tamen effectus ex quibus demonstratio sumitur ad probandum deum esse, sensibiles sunt: et sic nostrae cognitionis origo in sensu est, etiam de his quae sensum excedunt."

of God is demonstrated by His works. But these being finite are not proportioned to Him, an Infinite Being. And since a cause cannot be proved to exist by its effects if there be no proportion between them, it follows that God's existence cannot be demonstrated.* Here, in answer, the distinction is made between a knowledge of the existence and of the essence of the cause under discussion. A perfect knowledge is denied, while it is maintained that the existence of the cause is certainly known.† The principle upon which this assertion is made is stated in the body of the same article to which the third reply directs our attention. "Since the effect depends upon the cause, given the effect, the cause is necessarily inferred as pre-existing."‡

The difficulty is simply shifted back one step, and for the justification of the supporting principle we must fall back again upon some such line of explanatory reasoning as I have already endeavoured to put forth. We cannot prove that "the effect depends upon the cause": though it is quite true to state that "given the effect, the cause is necessarily inferred as pre-existing." We notice in his reply the implicitly asserted proportional analogy between God and His creatures considered as beings, causes, ends; and I think we can here see the Angelic Doctor fairly and dispassionately viewing the real difficulty and, with his usual great depth of penetration and power of synthesis, answering it by leaving it unanswered, except as a corollary to the more restricted principle of which he makes use.

F. AVELING.

* *Summa*, 1a, Q. ii., a. 2, 3. "Praeterea, si demonstraretur Deum esse, hoc non esset nisi ex effectibus ejus. Sed effectus ejus non sunt proportionati ei, cum ipse sit infinitus et effectus finiti; finiti autem ad infinitum non est proportio. Cum ergo causa non possit demonstrari per effectum sibi non proportionatum, videtur quod Deum esse non possit demonstrari."

† *Ibid.*, ad 3. "... per effectus non proportionatos causae non potest perfecta cognitio de causa haberi; sed tamen ex quocumque effectu manifesto nobis potest demonstrari causam esse."

‡ *In corp. eiusdem.*

ART. V.—DOMESTIC AFFECTION IN SAINTLY CHARACTERS.

THE tender love which existed between our Lord and His ever-Virgin Mother has always been accepted as a fact owing to the relationship by means of which the two were knit so closely together. No one, even the most violent adversary of the Catholic Faith, has ever cared to contend against the argument when presented with this reason, feeling, undoubtedly, that, although its truth admits of no logical demonstration, it is nevertheless placed on so sure a foundation as to be absolutely unanswerable. Those lines of Faber in which the question is asked : "For what did Jesus love on earth, one half so tenderly as thee?" and from which the conclusion is drawn that, in loving Mary, the devout Catholic is only following the example of his Master, her Divine Son, have been described by Cardinal Newman as among the happiest which that writer ever composed. To the controversialist—and to being a controversialist the great Oratorian particularly laid claim—relationship between parent and child forms the basis of an argument concerning the mutual love of the two which cannot be moved, which it is impossible to shake; and that once allowed, as both Faber and Newman, as well as every other reasoner, would consider it must be allowed, then it were idle and a waste of labour to endeavour to confute the conviction which is very firm in the breast of every member of the household of the Faith, that the Heart of Christ was overflowing with the warmest fondness for our Blessed Lady.

I propose to show, so far as I have been able to find information on the subject, that the saints of God have

fostered a similar tenderness towards those with whom the ties of blood had bound them closely together: that they had a distinct fondness for father, mother, children, brothers, and sisters. Indeed, I might content myself by *presuming* that this was so, even as we presume it when thinking of the "strong Son of God, immortal love." In His case the fact of relationship is, as I have said, sufficient to warrant our feeling sure that the measure of His love bestowed on any other of His creatures has never been, and never will be, half so great as that which He has lovingly meted out, and still continues to mete out, to that Blessed one of whom He took flesh and for our sakes became man. Sacred Scripture helps us very little in coming to that conclusion; nor do we need its assistance. We are unassailable in maintaining that His affection for her was wide as the world and deep as the ocean because of the fact, admitted by all, that He, the best and tenderest of men, was her child, and that she, the most devoted of His followers, was His only earthly parent. We might, therefore, be content with the same reason, and be convinced, without any shadow of doubt, that the heart of the saint went out with a peculiar fondness to his or her relatives, and that that fondness they carried with them through all the vicissitudes of a life of strictness and rigour which, for Christ's sake, they voluntarily took upon themselves. No text of Scripture seemingly opposed to this conviction should, I maintain, be considered to have the least weight. It ought rather to be explained in the light of this first principle that at least parental and filial affection are of the essence of our nature in all well-constituted and normal human beings; just as actually, with that principle before our minds, we do interpret certain passages which, hurriedly read, would seem to insinuate that our Redeemer had no very striking fondness for that Mother Maid who bore Him. We never allow that because He gave Himself entirely to and for us, He therefore ceased to be influenced by those sentiments which, shown by a child to a parent, are the most beautiful which our nature possesses. Why should we argue differently concerning the life of a saint, even when we gladly admit that he or she

broke asunder every bond and severed every tie which bound him or her to this earth? Why should we suppose that, because the exact follower of our Lord mounts "on his dead self to higher things," he must therefore have arrived at a condition of mind and heart to which, we are sure, the King of saints neither attained nor sought to attain? St. Paul died daily; he sighed to be delivered from the "body of this death"; his life was "hidden with Christ in God"; but even he had no rest till he was joined to the society of Titus, his dear companion. He could be stern to others and hard on himself, but how tender he could be to his friends, and how susceptible to their kindness; and that friendship is only less natural than domestic affection can be seen in many of his epistles, but particularly in the concluding verses of that to the Romans.

But we are not reduced solely to this principle. There is literature—meagre, sparse, it is true, but, nevertheless, sufficient to present us with a clear idea of the affectionate manner in which some of the sternest and least sentimental of the saints regarded those who were bound to them by the ties of flesh and blood. We do not approach the pages of the hagiographer for information on this matter, any more than we should think of consulting those of the Gospels for an account of what took place at Nazareth between the Saviour of the world and the Blessed Virgin. Some writings of the saint himself, some little expression allowed to drop unperceived from his pen in letters to familiar friends or even casual acquaintances, some incident, or even a sentence only from the more profane ecclesiastical historian, will enlighten us more on this subject than any "life" put before us with the express purpose of showing how the servant of God attained to high, heroic things seemingly above the power of human nature.

Eusebius relates a touching incident in the home life of Origen who, if he is not a saint in the ecclesiastical sense of the word, has missed the title not out of any want of extreme holiness of character. The attachment of the boy to his father and of the father, who was a saint and a martyr, to his little son, is described for us as only Eusebius, I think, could describe such incidents. Leonides watched

over the education of his child himself, rejoiced over his zeal for knowledge of all kinds, particularly directed the attention of the boy to the Sacred Scriptures, was astounded at his questions and answers concerning these sublime matters :

“ So that by his questions he caused the father no little embarrassment at times when endeavouring to instruct him as to what the inspired Scriptures meant. But he pretended to the boy's face to reprehend him, and admonished him not to seek things too difficult for his tender age to know, nor strive after more than the evident meaning. Yet, by himself, the father rejoiced exceedingly because of these wonderful things, and gave the greatest thanks to God, the cause of all good gifts, in that He had thought him worthy of being the father of such a boy. And they say that very often he would stand over the lad as he lay asleep, and, baring his chest, in which, as it were, the Holy Spirit had made His shrine, he would kiss it with deep veneration, and think himself happy in the possession of such a child ” (Eusebius, *His. Ecc.*, Book VI., c. 2).

With such a father, and living in an atmosphere charged with the holy desire for martyrdom, it is not surprising that Origen heard of his parent's imprisonment for the sake of Christ only to be intensely anxious that he, too, might go and suffer for the Divine Master. Extreme measures, the historian tells us, had to be taken to prevent him from rushing out into the street and professing himself a member of the hated sect. These were taken by his mother. She deprived him of his garments, and that, indeed, to such an extent that he was entirely confined to his room until the persecution was over. All other means had failed. To the boy, the standing by the side of his father and, together with him, the yielding up of his life for our Lord, presented an attraction which he, doubtless, thought it strange his mother could not understand. He was, perhaps, unable to grasp the fact that he was loved not only by the one parent who was out of sight, but also by the other, to whom the parting with him caused a struggle, in which human nature and the proud thought of having a son, as well as a husband, a martyr for Christ, contended for the mastery. Maternal love triumphed ; and as it was not a question of denying our Lord, but one simply of keeping out of the way of confessing Him, an action in which many saints

have seen nothing reprehensible, who can blame the mother of Origen for being led and influenced by her very natural affection?

The incident brings to our mind another in which maternal love plays a great part in trying to prevent a saint from following Christ in that manner to which he had, at first, believed his conscience was prompting him. St. Chrysostom, with an evident fondness for his mother, narrates in his book on the Priesthood how she endeavoured to prevail on him to postpone until she had departed out of this life his determination to become a monk. The narration itself gives us a beautiful description of the Christian parent and saint under the painful ordeal of an early and constant widowhood, the end of which seemed to be the separation from an only child, to whom, since the death of her husband, she had, as it were, consecrated her days. And the fact that the Saint himself recalls it so minutely shows how deep, how lasting, and how precious she must have been to him, whose every word had been treasured up, and whose every movement of sorrow at the thought of losing him had been observed and noted. He says :

"For when she perceived that I desired to do this, she took me by the hand, led me into her own apartment, made me sit by her side upon the couch whereon I first saw the light, and then, giving way to violent weeping, her voice broken with sobs, she uttered words sadder by far even than her tears. 'Child,' said she, 'the will of God permitted me no very long enjoyment of thy father's virtue, for his death followed very shortly after thy birth, leaving thee an orphan and me a widow before my time. My portion became the evils of widowhood, which only those that have to bear them can properly understand. For what language can describe that raging storm which one, quite a girl, recently departed out from her father's house, and without experience, has to encounter when she is suddenly plunged into a whirlpool of grief, and is forced to bear anxiety too heavy for her age and sex?'" (Chrysostom, *De Sacerdotio*, Book I.).

In such a strain and by the employment of such means the tenderness of the mother commences an expostulation which, while it makes the reader feel how powerful an impediment St. Chrysostom had to encounter in the way of his determination, wins us completely over to the parent's

side. She explains to him how much he had been to her ; how, even though now arrived at man's estate, he was still dearer to her than any other thing in the world. How much she had borne for him ! What an amount of anxiety, she exclaims, any child must be to one left defenceless, as she was, at a time of life bristling with its special difficulties, when the dread calamity overtook and for ever darkened the brightness of her brief married existence ! Those difficulties are great when the infant left to the young widow is a girl ; they are still greater, she tenderly argues, in the case of a boy :

“ For then she must be filled every day with a thousand fears and with many solitudes, to say nothing of that profuse expenditure to which she must be prepared to submit if she wish to educate him in a cultured and a refined manner. Yet no one of these considerations could persuade me to introduce a second husband into thy father's house, and to marry again. But I remained, as it were, in the iron furnace of my widowhood, braving the storm and the turmoil. I was, of course, before all things, assisted by help from above ; but not a little consolation in those my troubles came to me from frequently looking down into thy face, having for myself in thee a living image of him who was dead—an image, moreover, that was so like him. For which cause, even while thou wert still very little and as yet unable to speak—a time when children are the occasion of so much delight to their parents—thou wert to me the very greatest comfort ” (Chrysostom, *De Sacerdotio*).

Who could have more completely dedicated a life to the service of another, she seems to inquire, than she had done hers to him, prompted by an all-conquering love. How many orphans had been brought up in every luxury, indeed, but at the expense and heavy burdening of their own estate which, when they took over the charge of it on coming of age, they found impoverished by the excesses of a widowed mother, frivolous and lavish on herself, and over-indulgent to her child. Her indulgence to him she confesses ; but not one penny spent for the satisfaction of it in educating him liberally had been derived from any other source than that which, as a dowry, she had brought to his father on her marriage day. Very tenderly she beseeches him to wait awhile before putting his resolution of becoming a monk into effect. He ought not, after the

care which she had so lavished on him, to cause her a second widowhood by his departure. Soon her days would be closed in peace: for while youth expects a long life, old age can look forward to little but the grave—then let him go where he would.

“When, therefore, thou hast committed me to the earth, and hast mingled my dust with thy father’s, set out on thy long journey—sail on the open sea withersoever thou wilt. No one then will stand in thy way. But so long as I am alive, abide thou with me, lest, perchance, thou offend God by rashly, and without reason, injuring one so much who never did thee aught but good” (Chrysostom, *De Sacerdotio*, Book I.).

The cords of human affection which we see vibrating in the above passages could not be silenced nor stilled even at that time when love for Christ was greater than it is now, and when the soul, more than it has been at any other age, was, among even general Christians, so enamoured of our Lord as to forget in Him all other things. That the great Chrysostom was prevented from carrying out his plan we should suppose, even had he not himself told us so. The tenderness which in his own breast responded to that which the parent had so largely bestowed on him could hardly turn away unmoved by so eloquent an expostulation and by so touching a petition. He gave in, he tells us; and he gave in although there was a certain Basil, whom of all men he most admired, ever at his elbow warning him that such considerations as those of a mother’s fondness and of a son’s devotion ought not to keep one back from following out what was then called “the angelic life.”

In little more than one sentence St. Theresa has shown us how deep was the love she bore for her father and for the home she was leaving in order to dedicate herself to our Lord. No gentle appeal came in her case from the affectionate parent of whom she was taking her farewell. There was no need for it; no occasion. She was not an only child like Chrysostom; and her surviving parent would feel less the parting with one of many, as she was, than had she been, as in the former case, the solitary token of a short and devoted married life over which the grave had abruptly closed. “Truly,” she says of herself on her

entrance into a convent, "I shall not feel the pain of dying as I did that which I experienced when I went out from my father's house. For it seemed to me as though all my bones were rent asunder."* There was no love of God in her breast, she asserts with great humility, coming to alleviate or to render dormant the natural fondness for kith and kin; and, consequently, the effort of parting was so great that, "had not Christ Himself helped me on, my own considerations would never have availed to send me forward." No one, I think, will place St. Theresa among those supposed to be unduly sensitive or number her with those of whose character sentimentality has been the predominating feature. If any one, even *in sexu fragili*, can lay claim to having been *in rebus angustis animosus atque fortis*, I think it is agreed that that most wonderful saint can do so. Yet could she, who mastered so many other things, overcome the love for her parent, even when the break with him had been made, and the river, so to speak, which divided them had been crossed? It appears not. Her father became ill, and she obtained permission to go and nurse him. She says:

"At this time my father was attacked by the sickness from which he died. It lasted some days, and I went to nurse him. . . . I suffered much on his account during that illness of his, and I trust it may have been some recompense for the much more he had suffered for me during my own. . . . I tried hard not to let him see my anguish, and until he had breathed his last I endeavoured to show myself so composed as if I felt nothing, although I thought my heart must break, so much did I love him." (*Obras de Santa Teresa*, Tom I., cap. 7).

How lasting that love was is abundantly proved by the memoirs of her life and experiences, from which, set down by her own hand, the above is taken. Written years after he had departed, and when the saint had gained the reputation which she so much deserved of being absorbed in the love of Christ, she yet dwells fondly on the virtues of her father, the sure sign of a child's admiration and affection. In his life, "he was noble in every respect"; in his illness, "he never complained"; in dying, "he seemed

* *Obras de Santa Teresa*, Tom I., cap. 4.

like an angel"; and when dead "his confessor, who was a Dominican and very learned indeed, said that he had no doubt about his having gone straight to heaven."

St. Basil, the celebrated Bishop of Cæsarea, in one of his letters, makes a tender allusion to his mother; and although the words are few, they are sufficient to let in a flood of light concerning the deep love for her, which his many labours on behalf of the Church of Christ could not diminish nor the strictness of his life eradicate from his heart. Having spoken about the difficulties of his position and of his continual state of ill-health, he continues: "And now I have lost the one consolation of my life—my mother. Of her, too, am I bereaved because of my sins. Do not ridicule me in that at my age I lament with tears at being left an orphan; but pardon me for that I bear not patiently the loss of a part of my soul in losing her, the like and worth of which I know not where to look for in those things still left to me."* Here was an individual who, if the natural affection between offspring and parent is to be regarded as a sentiment which the pious or the strong-minded should first of all despise and eventually should overcome, ought, one would suppose, easily to have accomplished those ends. His mind imbued with the lessons of the philosophy of the ancients and, far more important than this, having every thought of his soul busied with Christ and the manner of carrying out His exalted teaching, if the refined and cultured Basil, in a life of ceaseless activity, found the love of mother and father warmer and still warmer as the years went on, although he saw them only at long intervals, who can hope to be freed from its subtle influences, and to dry up the wells of so sweet but persistent a stream?

Many years after when the saintly Bishop of Cæsarea had himself been called away to his divine Master, his brother, St. Gregory of Nyssa, besides giving us in the life of St. Macrina, their sister, one of the most beautiful narratives of early Christian home-life, affords us in himself yet another example of those who have found, while setting

* *Ep. S. Basilii, vii.*

their heart like a flint against all other earthly affection, that the ties knit together in infancy neither break themselves nor can be snapped asunder by us, try as we may. In his pages father, mother, brother, sisters, pass by, as it were, in solemn procession ; are made almost to live again in the fond fancy of the aged and surviving brother ; are decorated, as each one moves in his recollection, with virtues, qualities, talents, which we doubt not in the least that they really possessed, but which no other eye could have marked, no other mind have remembered so faithfully as those of him to whom a deep love had suggested the existence of colours even in the shades, and made more vivid even the varied hues of the lights. Nothing is too insignificant to find a place in Gregory of Nyssa's letter to a brother monk, ostensibly written about his sister, but really concerning itself with all the members of his family. He considers that everyone must find the least detail interesting in which his mother played a part. He tells of her descent from the martyrs, of her piety, of her beauty, of the many aspirants to win her in marriage, of the danger she ran of being carried off by force when she signified her intention of remaining with her father and mother in a life consecrated to Christ. Her parents begged of her to marry for protection's sake. Filial love presents to the mind of the writer incidents which to others seem trifles, bearing all the proportions of solemn and great events ; and who can blame him for it? Asked, as he tells us he had been, to write the story of his sister's life, he found it impossible to think of her without sending back his mind to that old home nestled within the hills, shaded with trees, within sound of the running stream, over which the presiding genius had not been the sister after all, but one whose face, still sweet, was the first he had been able to recognise, the accents of whose voice were to him still plain and soft with a certain kind of music. Who can be surprised that the form and the memory of his mother springs up, and that trifles appear great when connected with her? She dreams of St. Thecla just before her first-born sees the light : it is a vision. She assists her servants in the household duties : it is wonderful. She nurses her children herself : it is

exceptional. She prays daily with her dependents: it is worthy of note. She swoons and becomes speechless at the receipt of the news of the sudden death of one of her sons: it is a singular mark of maternal love. And the writer thinks that the following incident must be of interest to his correspondent:

"At this time our mother, who had attained to a ripe old age, went away to God. She laid her body down to rest in the presence of two of her children; and I think it of interest to narrate the prayer she made on their behalf after she had blest one by one the absent ones, so that they might not be deprived of any part in her benediction. For the two whom she particularly commended to God in her last prayer sat the one on the one side and the other on the other of her couch. Touching her children with her hand (the two were the youngest and the eldest of ten), she addressed these her dying words to God: 'I offer thee, O Lord, the first fruits of my labour, and I commend to thee my tithes. This my first begotten occupies the place of my first fruits, and this my tenth son and my last holds that of my tithes. By one and the same law are they sacred to thee. They are thy offerings. Oh! may holiness therefore dwell within this my first begotten, and a like holiness be the possession of this my tenth!' And, expressing by these words her daughter and her son, she ended her life at the same moment as she finished her blessing" (Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep. de Macrina*).

We cannot pass from the fascinating pages of this remarkable saint—stern, unbending, resolute for his Lord's sake and the maintenance of the Catholic Faith even unto exile and imprisonment, but very tender whenever his parent came before his mind for consideration—without mentioning the affection he manifests towards his brothers and sisters. No amount of ascetism could make his brethren seem to him anything short of the most wonderful persons on earth, a disposition, I may remark, which owes its origin and its being to fraternal love which, in its turn, arises from the fact that those by whom and towards whom it is shown spring from the same beloved progenitor. Gregory tells us that his brother Naucratus "excelled all others in the faculties of his soul, in the powers of his body, in the beauty of his form, in his strength of limb, and in swiftness of foot"; and at twenty, at which age he left the world to embrace the monastic state, so great was his success in public speaking that on one occasion, "a

whole assembly of listeners burst forth into loud and prolonged applause." Another brother, that St. Basil of whom I have already made mention, he does not hesitate to call the Great, and he asserts that his death was "the cause of general mourning both to his fatherland and to the world." His youngest brother Peter was one who, "before he had ceased to be a child, had reached the level of a high grade of sanctity"; and, "he was of such exceptional cleverness as to be able to learn with precision and without a teacher arts and pursuits, even those practised by hand, of which others, after a long time and much labour, could only with difficulty acquire the knowledge." There was in Gregory, as there must be with everyone who is ruled by fraternal affection, those "larger, other eyes," of which the poet speaks. When he informs us that his sister Macrina was of such transcending beauty that the brush of the painter, many times employed in portraying her charms, altogether failed in the effort to do her justice, we should be amused did we not bear in mind that it is a brother who speaks. A natural tenderness for her, his own flesh and blood, a tenderness springing, as I have said, from that other stronger one for those who had begotten the two, made every action of his sister seem heroic. He writes gracefully of the smallest incident connected with her life; but when he comes to her death, which to him was more beautiful and wonderful than any other save that of his parent, then, truly, his hands begin "to drop with myrrh," to use the expression of an old mediæval writer for denoting the art of writing with elegance. Quite by chance he formed the resolution of going to visit her. On the way a strange vision interrupts his sleep and alarms him. On entering the glade, in the midst of which the *μονή*, the convent, was situated, a dependent of the community tells him that messengers have been dispatched in another direction to bid him come to visit his sister who is grievously sick. Accompanied by the weeping confraternity he visits the church. He then proceeds to where Macrina is lying, consumed with sickness, but outstretched on the ground, refusing, in her lowliness, to be raised to any higher or more comfortable bed.

"When, therefore," he says, "she beheld me entering the door of her cell, although such was the serious state in which the fever had placed her she could not run forward to greet me, she, nevertheless, raised herself upon her arms, placed her hands on to the earth, and, turning, bent her head to the ground, moving the little that she could from her lowly couch, and thus did honour to me at my approach. (This honour was manifested by the sister to her brother because he was a Bishop.) With quick steps I hastened forward; I raised her face, which was touching the ground, taking it into my hands, and I placed her in the ordinary position straight upon her hard bed (Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep. de Macrina*).

Not one thing in connection with the last moments of his sister had escaped the old saint's memory. With a painful exactitude he writes down everything in his letter to his friend. He remembers that she thanked God when she saw him arrive, that she tried to hide her feebleness and the difficulty she experienced in breathing so as to lessen his anguish, that she talked of their parents and of their brethren, that he wept while she remained calm, and that, after a time, thinking only of him, she begged of him to leave her awhile and seek refreshment for his body, tired with the long journey. He recounts his continued watching as she gradually sank deeper and deeper down into the final stage: her last prayer, her last sign of the cross, her last movement of the lips. And then the end:

"Now the shades of evening had set in, and a light was brought. As she directed her eyes towards it, it was evident that she desired to say the hymn for the vesper hour; but, finding that her speech was gone, she contented herself with the devotion of her heart and by just moving her hands. And when, with her lips in silence expressing the promptings of her soul, she had finished her thanksgiving, she made upon her forehead the sign of the cross to show that the prayer was ended, and then drew a deep and heavy breath; thus closing her devotions and her life together. And when she had ceased to breathe and move I remembered the charge she had given me on my arrival, saying that her wish was that my hands should close her eyes and perform as much as was needful of the last sad offices for her dead body. In order not to appear unmindful of her command to me, and not because there was the least need to do so, trembling with sorrow, I stretched forth my hand and touched her saintly face. Indeed, her eyelids wanted none of my services; for, as though she was enjoying a natural sleep, they were closed

together. Her lips, too, were gently compressed. Her hands rested upon her breast, and her whole form was stretched out in a calm and becoming manner; so that there was nothing for my hands to set in order. And a double weight of sadness pressed upon my soul, one caused by the sight of her, dead, before me, and the other by the lamentations of her companions, the sound of which fell upon my ears" (Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep. de Macrina*).

The Eastern mind—and from the East my examples with one exception have been taken—is generally accredited with feelings more intense, with the possession of natural sentiments more closely bordering on the passionate than the Western. The sudden outburst of the violent storm over their country typifies, so we are told, the quick and dangerous paroxysm of rage from which the human being suffers; and the burning rays of a tropical, or nearly tropical, sun are but an emblem of the fever heat at which the tender fire of every kind of affection speedily fans itself into a flame. Yet, in the matter on which I am now treating, the saintly personages of the West—and, indeed, those we should the least expect to come forward as proofs in support of that strong filial and fraternal affection which, I hold, finds a place in the heart of the most holy—offer the same characteristics as those of Asiatic, or of nearly Asiatic, blood. Among the saints of the middle ages, St. Bernard stands out pre-eminent as one, the thoughts of whose mind and the sentiments of whose heart were so concentrated in matters ecclesiastical and in affairs eminently spiritual, as to appear to some cold, hard and unsympathetic when the strange emotions of purely mundane affection come before him for consideration. But even St. Bernard could exclaim, in the bitterness of his soul, when writing to a youth related to him by ties of blood and who had left the Cistercians to join the monks of Cluny: "Oh, wretched man that I am; wretched, because I have to live without thee; because I am deprived of the sight of thee—of thee for whom, were I to die, then should I reckon death to be life; while, in living deserted by thee, I feel that life is gone." How much had the feeling of consanguinity—made even more tender from the fact that the lad to whom he writes had been under the same roof with him from the

time he was quite little—to do with the production of this letter, which is one of the most affectionate, as it is one of the most spiritual, ever written.* As soon might we have expected that honey would have oozed out from the hard and solitary rock which lifts up its head in the midst of the waves of the sea, as that the Abbot of Clairvaux, standing high in exalted sanctity, almost alone in the extreme rigour of his life, and apparently dead to all things earthly, would have felt for another so warmly as he is seen to do in the above case; or that, as in the following, he would have experienced towards his brother Gerard a love deeper than David's was for Jonathan. Weeping before the members of his community, the man, whom all thought absolutely without feeling, thus speaks of his own flesh and blood, recently borne to the grave:

"I weep for Gerard, Gerard my brother in the flesh, my friend in the spirit, my companion in labour; Gerard causes tears to flow from mine eyes. My soul cleaved to his soul, and out of the two one soul was formed . . . I, even I, am that portion left behind lying in the dust, deprived of its better part; and will they say to me do not weep? My very heart is torn out; and will they say to me do not feel? I *do* feel it; unwillingly, I grant, but feel it I do; for my strength is not as that of stones, nor is my flesh of a like temperament with brass" (S. Bernardi, *Serm. In. Cant. xxvi.*).

In this discourse we see, more than in any other of those which come from the lips of this the sweetest of mediæval preachers, how fine a vehicle for the expression of the sentiments is the Latin Vulgate. The thoughts of Bernard are clothed in words, a goodly number of which it is quite possible Cicero would have recognised, but most of which, with their striking, telling and wonderful arrangement, no one could properly understand to whom the great work of St. Jerome is as a closed book. But that such should have been the case with the saintly mourner is most natural. His heart full, struck down by the hand of God, speaking on the spur of the moment, as he certainly seems to be, his feelings are presented in the language he knows best and which most readily comes to his tongue. He is like one who finds the terms of childhood recurring again and

* *Ep. S. Bernardi i.*

again, "when the heart is broken and when bitter thoughts come quickly up for utterance." He gives us the impression of a man who has striven to keep back his grief, as he assures us in this case he had done; and then, finding the effort useless, allows it to flow forth as it will, showing to the world what, had it in the beginning been permitted to take its natural course, might never have been suspected—long years of tenderness and deep love purposely concealed from the eyes of the curious.

"I weep for thee, O dearest Gerard," he says, "not because thou needest my tears, but because thou art taken from me. And therefore, perhaps, I should rather weep for myself who drink this cup of bitterness alone. . . . Oh! would that I had not lost thee! Oh, that we may meet again! Oh, that, though late, I may sometime follow thee whithersoever thou goest. . . . For, O my brother, the darkness of midnight hath already passed away for thee; and night hath burst into resplendent light over thy joyful soul."

How strange it must all have seemed to his listeners! How little, up till then, could they have believed that they had been living under the care of one in whose nature the warmest fires had been burning, fires which at last it was impossible to keep in bonds, but which had to rush upward with volcanic force and precipitancy! How peculiar, coming from his mouth, must the words of excuse have seemed to them:—"We needs must be attached to our loved ones; pleased when they are by us, and when they are gone, overcome with sadness!" Half apologising, he appeals to them as knowing that he has cause, if any one ever could be said to have, for the tears which were even then flowing, and which, in the end, brought abruptly the discourse to a close:

"You see, my children, how righteous is my sorrow; how deep a wound I lament the infliction of. You see how trusty a partner has left me in the way wherein I walked; how wakeful in anxiety, how swift to act, how sweet in doing. How very necessary he was to me! To whom was I so dear? I was sick in body, and he lifted me up. I was down-hearted, and he comforted me. I was slow and backward in action, and he spurred me on. I looked not ahead; I forgot sometimes, and he reminded me. How art thou torn from me, how art thou snatched from my hands, O man of one soul with me; O man according to my own heart!" (S. Bern., *ibidem*).

Out from the austere walls of a monastic church, from a saint who had formed one of the strictest orders which the Western division of the Christian religion has known, these echoes of deep, tender, moving, fraternal affection have gone forth, and, across the ages, have reached down to to-day. They are not the only sign we have of love for the near relative shown by a religious, and that in a crowded assembly. Fray Luis of Granada, a Dominican friar, who lived and died in the odour of sanctity, and who was the most celebrated preacher that Spain has ever produced, demanded that room should be made for his mother who was entering a church where he was addressing a very large and aristocratic congregation. I give the incident as his Spanish biographer records it:

"This mother, whom they describe to us as being very poor, Fray Luis loved to receive and to visit. He showed her the greatest respect whether at home or on public occasions when the opportunity presented itself. Preaching one day before a very large audience, and when, in Granada, he was drawing everyone to hear him, he caught sight of his mother from his pulpit. She was entering; and as she was among those who were poorly dressed and of no particular standing, the people neither noticed her nor made it easy for her to obtain a place. 'Let my mother come in,' he cried out with a loud voice, pointing her out with his hand; and as it was in so public a place, honouring both her and himself by the action. Then everyone received with respect and welcomed the aged and holy woman. . . . They that write about Fray Luis attribute his success in no little degree to this love and veneration displayed by him to his good mother" (Munoz, *Vida y Virtudes de Fray Luis*, cap. 3).

Not less and, perhaps, indeed more than the rest of the examples which I have presented for the consideration of the reader, might this holy personage be brought forward as a contradiction to that assertion made by Renan that, * "all men exclusively preoccupied by an idea come to think little of the ties of blood." The faith of Christ and the order of St. Dominic were the two ideas which preoccupied the mind of the saintly monk. Eight thick volumes bear witness to the fertility of his intellect and to the ceaseless activity of his mind, his pen and his speech. When not

* *Vie de Jesus*, ch. 3.

engaged in writing and in preaching, there were numerous souls constantly demanding his counsel and direction. In a life crowded with events, passed in the manner I have described, spent, moreover, in the management of difficult matters connected with his order and even with the vast empire of Spain, if one might "come to think little of the ties of blood," it would surely not be wonderful had that one been Fray Luis of Granada. He did not forget, however. He would have been the first to have made the exclamation which issued from the lips of the King of Israel, "May my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and may my right hand forget her cunning, if I forget" that *buena y pobre madre*, that good and poor mother, who baked the bread and washed the linen of the religious of St. Dominic; and who, when there was a scarcity of work, stood, "the hand of her little boy locked in hers, at the gate of the monastery to ask for the meagre sustenance dispensed to the deserving poor." The scene must have entered like iron into his soul. It produced an effect different from that which similar recollections cause in some. His love for his parent never ceased, and his desire to manifest it never waned nor flagged, even when he was the most popular man in Spain and she, now old, was also still poor. We are touched when we read that, as a simple monk, he begged his superior to allow him every day to leave half his food so that it might be sent to her; but we are more impressed when we are told that in after years honours and the society of Kings and Cardinals never dulled his memory nor weakened his fondness in her regard. Indeed, filial affection in the perfect man conquers everything. An early Father of the Church is right in assuring us that the smallest infant loves its maternal parent more than any other person, and that it will stretch out its arms to be taken by her, even when held by a queen arrayed in crown and purple, and she stands by squalid in rags; but I may say more than this. I may assert that this natural sentiment will, in all proper and true specimens of our nature, overcome even human respect, the worst foe with which it has to contend. We may feel sure that the same poor child, when in later years accidentally elevated to a high place in the estimation of its

countrymen, will still give the largest share of affection to its parents, and will take delight in manifesting its love before the eyes of the world, though *they* be uncultured and lowly and *he* has become the centre of attraction to the highest in the land.

"The defects of the saints," says St. Jerome, "are the virtues of the rest of mankind"; and his words have a special bearing on the subject in the examination of which I am engaged, inasmuch as they were caused by the love which the fond mind of St. Paula fostered towards her husband and children, a feature which the great doctor of the Church considered might be regarded by some as an imperfection. "If all the members of my body were changed into tongues, and every limb were to resound with a human voice," says the same holy writer, "I could give expression to nothing worthy of the great merits of the saintly and venerable Paula";* but yet, he has to confess that she was overcome by affection; that her mother's heart, *viscera parentis*, caused her much uneasiness; and that grief for the loss of her nearest and dearest was a sentiment she could not moderate. And deservedly so. For it needs no very large amount of philosophy to see that the greater the love, and the more intense the affection, the more bitter will be the sorrow and anguish when the objects of those tender sentiments are removed. St. Paula was a wife; she was a mother; and saintliness had to stand by powerless before those facts while she who, according to her biographer, followed out the principle of *ne quid nimis* in all other things, gave free scope to her grief and let her tears drop down as they listed.

I frankly admit that I am not of the number of those *prudentes lectores* whom St. Jerome conceives as likely to blame, rather than to praise, the saint for the tenderness she both felt and showed. To me, both parental and filial affection are virtues which add an additional charm to great sanctity of life, giving a beautiful variation to the character of the venerable servant of God, in much the same manner as a curve will give a grace to many straight lines, or the least sprinkling of colour will make glorious a garland of

* S. Hieron, *Ep. ad Eustoc. Epit. Paulae*.

flowers already faultless and white. Even were the standard of exalted virtue for the more celebrated persons of the old Law the same as that of the New, we should experience a large amount of difficulty in condemning Joseph for the love he bare to his father Jacob, "the old man of whom ye told me"; or for falling with a special affection on the neck of Benjamin, who was, like himself, the son of Rachel. The fondness of Ruth the Moabitess for Naomi, and her words, "thy people shall be my people, whither thou goest I will go, and where thou dwellest I will dwell," will always be remembered, as one of the chief beauties of a book deservedly esteemed as being one of the most charming of Sacred Scripture. The, "I grieve for thee, my brother Jonathan," of David, will cling to our memory when more brilliant things in word and deed of the great King will be forgotten; and Jonathan himself stands out for ever great, glorious, and almost worshipful, because we know him best, and, perhaps, entirely, as one whose soul cleaved to the soul of the shepherd lad, and who loved his friend better than he loved himself. Under the New as under the Old Law this thing is a delight to look upon. The martyrdom of St. Blandina glitters with an additional ray of light when we read that she stood in the arena with her little brother Ponticus, the girl exhorting the boy to be faithful, the lad obeying the soft commands of the maiden, united in death as they had been in life, bearing together the most fearful torments for the sake of Christ. The mother and sisters of whom Eusebius writes, who, when on the way to execution for our Lord, and to shame worse than execution, by a divine impulse met the martyrdom from which there was no escape by casting themselves together into the river where they were drowned, present to us a more pleasurable picture even than they would have done had they not been of the number of those "who have loved one another in life, and in death refuse to be divided." Gregory,* a different saint from the one I have already mentioned, excites in us an increased interest when he leaves the discussion of theological matters, on which he was so great an expert,

* *Nazianzen*. The tenderness of this Saint towards his relatives may be seen mentioned at length in an article of the DUBLIN REVIEW, April, 1902.

and gossips to us in his letters and preaches in his sermons about his father, his mother, his brother Cæsar, and his sister Gorgonia. Jacopo di Benincasa, the father of St. Catherine of Siena, we appreciate and love; Monna Lapa, the mother, hardly impresses us at all. Does not the reason lie in this that, while the mother had no very extraordinary affection for her wonderful daughter, the father made her his favourite child, protected her, shielded her, although mystified at her choice of a stone for a pillow, and pained at her severe abstinences and fasts? These pure sentiments, I repeat, seem to me to decorate the crown which the faithful Christian makes for himself out of his good works. They have in them something heavenly, not the least part of that something arising from the fact that they were very warm even in the heart of the King of Heaven Himself.

My considerations on this subject would hardly be complete were I not to bring forward the example of St. Augustine, a saint in whom we might not expect to find much tenderness of disposition, to judge from his writings filled with philosophy and replete with acute thought. Nevertheless, it may be safely said that filial affection had so strong a power, so perfect a hold over his heart that, when other affections left him, that still remained with increased ardour; and not content with governing his heart, it moved his hand to write of Monica in such a manner as to clothe her memory with a freshness and a sweetness which will last undiminished until the end of time. The mother will always be loved and venerated as long as the pages of the son's *Confessions* are read. How knit together the two had been is shown by the fact that her early fault and its attendant circumstances—the wine drinking, the ridicule of her little maid, the shame, the resolution, not the less well kept because made out of human respect—had been told to him by her own lips. How wonderful she was in his eyes is evident by his apparently lessening his father that she may appear the greater and the more virtuous. He was “hot-tempered”; not even by a word did she cross the will of her “angry husband”; and other women, knowing what a “fierce husband” she had to contend with, wondered how the peace and harmony of

the home was never disturbed, even for a day. Fondness for her makes Augustine think of everything which may manifest her in the clearest and the finest light; and if it were asserted that he had done so just a little at the expense of his father's reputation, the saint would have answered that, by the side of such brilliancy of character on the part of his beloved parent, the slight shades on the part of the one less loved must necessarily assume a darker hue. As the day of her death approaches in his narration, the tender memory of the son sets down for the reader his mother's words:

"So far as I am concerned, my son, nothing in this world can any more delight me. What is there here for me to do? I know not why I stay. There is no hope in present things. One only matter made me desire to live a little while longer here below, and it was that I might see thee a Catholic Christian before I died. God has granted me this very abundantly; for in addition to seeing thee His servant, I see thee treading all earthly things beneath thy feet" (*Confessions*, S. Aug., Lib. ix.)

It is in St. Augustine that we witness the struggle taking place between the saint and the mere child of human nature. In a passage full of eloquence and great beauty, he describes for us the resolution he had made not to weep for his dead mother. He closed her eyes; was oppressed with grief; but kept back his tears. What was there to weep for, he argues. She died neither wretchedly nor altogether, and the cause of tears when others mourn their dead is either a miserable departure out of this world on the part of the deceased, or the unbelief in the immortality of the soul on that of the survivors. He forgot the principal cause. His clear mind had to be taught that there is something far more capable of turning the "hard rock into a fountain of water, and the flint stone into a springing well," than the misery of dying, or the denial of a future existence. There is affection, the strength of which in his own breast is made abundantly clear by the power it had in breaking, perhaps, the strongest will that has ever said to tears, "You shall not flow." "I closed her eyelids," he says, "and the greatest sadness flooded my breast and flowed to my eyes; and there, by a violent act of my will, the eyes absorbed their own fountain, and made it dry: . . . for we thought it wrong to celebrate that death with weeping and

with sighs." He hid his grief from the attendants as standing near they said prayers over the dead, led by him. He felt nothing, they thought. Yet God knew the while how much he mourned the loss of that "most sweet and most dear companionship which we enjoyed together." A double sorrow, he tells us, now filled his breast; one because she was dead, and the other because he was so imperfect as to grieve for her: "Because I was so troubled that these human feelings should move me so much, although such is the due order and portion of our condition and it needs must be so, I added sorrow to my sorrow, and became afflicted with a double sadness." He followed her to the grave, his tears still restrained. In the public prayers for her, his eyes were still dry. The whole day he struggled, "grievously sad." The contest going on between his affection for his dear parent and his strong, iron will as to which should govern the signs of his grief, was of so serious and violent a nature that a feeling of great sickness came over him. His learning comes to aid the determination of his intellect. Had he not heard, or read, that bathing was a good thing to keep back the flow of tears? Had not the Greeks given the very name of *balaneion* to the bath because it did away with or mitigated the anguish of the heart? He went; returned; as might have been expected, he was little better for his endeavour. Then he sleeps for a short time and rises refreshed. For a few moments he has even forgotten both his sorrow and its cause. But each step taken in his return to perfect wakefulness brings back the past with all the greater vividness. One by one, and slowly, each incident takes shape in his mind not yet occupied with many affairs. He wavers in his resolution. He yields. The will, the reason, the religious feeling, even that "it was wrong," have to give way, and the heart with its affection shows itself paramount and triumphant. The tears flow in abundance:—

"As by degrees I thought how pious her life had been before Thee, and how sweet and helpful in my regard had been that same life of which I was suddenly made destitute, I felt I might weep in Thy presence because of her and for her, because of myself and for myself. And so I let loose the tears I was holding back and let them flow on as they would" (*Con.*, S. Aug., L. ix.).

Half apologising, he proceeds in words which are well known. He, too, fears the critic who might, with an exaggerated idea of virtue, accuse him of a defect instead of the possession of an extra good quality in mourning for one so dear to him as Monica was :—

“ Let him who is inclined to do so read this and interpret it as he wills: And if he thinks it a sin in me to have wept for some little part of an hour for my mother then dead before mine eyes, who had wept many years that I might live in Thine eyes, let him not scoff, but rather, with a large-hearted charity, let him weep for my sins ” (S. Aug., *ibidem*.)

It would be impossible for us to examine the lives of all the saints ; and indeed, were it possible, we should not be rewarded in our search for information on this interesting subject. For obvious reasons, as I said at the commencement, such matters are not touched on there, one of them undoubtedly being that sentiments so holy as those in the consideration of which I have been engaged ought to be presumed to have had a large share in the heart of the venerable servants of God. That those sentiments are indeed of the holiest kind there can be, at least to my mind, no question. The Christian Faith teaches us that God fosters similar sentiments to us ; urges us to keep and increase them towards Him ; tells us to practise them one to another. It has found nothing better for the expression of the way the Creator feels for His human creatures than that contained in the words, “ as a *Father* loveth his children.” Mary is said to have a *Mother's* love for us, and we are admonished to adopt the attitude of a *child* towards her. Christ could use no finer words to show the mutual regard in which his followers should esteem one another than these, “ all ye are *brethren*.” The terms are striking. The affection of father, mother, brother, sister, is something we know, the meaning of which we can grasp at once. But would the terms be half so striking, should we strive so much to make them a reality in our conduct if, after all, there is something wrong in the mutual tenderness of parent and child capable of casting dust upon the bright garments of the holy ; something in brotherly love which throws dark shadows across the shining virtues of the saints, God's specially dear children ?

JOHN FREELAND.

ART. VI. — "MAN'S PLACE IN THE
UNIVERSE."

By ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE. Chapman and Hall.
1903.

The Fortnightly Review. April, 1903.

Knowledge. December, 1903.

PART I.

SINCE it has been ascertained that the Earth which we inhabit is a planet revolving, like others, around the Sun, and that the Sun itself is a star, one among many thousands, there has been a natural disposition to wonder whether there exists in the various heavenly bodies life such as we know it on our own Earth. Many men have taken for granted that the planets are inhabited by beings more or less resembling ourselves: it is an idea that commends itself easily to persons who have merely a superficial acquaintance with astronomy; and it must be admitted that some scientific men, though perhaps with more caution and discrimination, have encouraged such an opinion. The increased knowledge, however, of the celestial bodies which has been obtained during the last fifty or sixty years, has greatly modified the tendency to indulge in these unreal speculations. No one who is aware of the physical constitution of the Sun, or of the present state of the surface of the Moon, would suppose that there are inhabitants in either one or the other: the same thing applies to some of the planets; and indeed as to all of them considerable doubt exists.

The very nature of the subject precludes, of course, any definite conclusion: we can but weigh the evidence, such as it is, in an uncertain balance, and be satisfied with precarious results. This caution should be always borne in mind if we would avoid false or hasty judgments in a matter so far transcending all human experience.

The work which stands at the head of my article is indeed a most able and interesting contribution to this vexed question. Dr. Wallace, after a long life devoted to biology and kindred studies, has made himself acquainted with modern astronomy, and has satisfied himself that this Earth is probably the only abode of life, at least of the higher type, in the whole universe. It will be for my readers to judge how far he makes out his case: indeed, to those who wish to master the subject, I warmly recommend the careful perusal of the work itself. The author had first published his views in magazine articles; and some able astronomers have since then criticised him in the *Fortnightly Review* and the scientific periodical called *Knowledge*. The present work, though apparently written with considerable rapidity, is a more guarded and elaborate statement of the ground of his convictions, and contains an answer to a few of the antagonistic criticisms.

Dr. Wallace alludes to some of the authors who have formerly dealt with the question at issue, and particularly the late Dr. Whewell, whose book, entitled a *Dialogue on the Plurality of Worlds*, takes a similar line to his own; and it may be mentioned in passing that a statement occurs in this work that Sir Isaac Newton argued at considerable length that the Sun was probably inhabited, which we may be very sure he would not have done if he had lived in the present age and had all the advantage derived from acquaintance with modern discoveries. Dr. Whewell's principal opponent was Sir David Brewster, whose work, it seems, appealed mainly to *a priori* considerations and religious prejudices, and maintained that the planets, being created such as they are—or, I should perhaps say, such as he imagined them to be: each for some special purpose, by the hand of God—must be inhabited, or some of them must be so; Venus, as being of about the same size as the

Earth, with years analogous to our own; and Jupiter, since he had four moons to give him light; and with regard to the double stars, "no person can believe that two suns could be placed in the heavens for no other purpose than to revolve round their common centre of gravity."

Dr. Wallace describes arguments of this sort as weak and fallacious rhetoric, as to which we may well agree with him; but it is very remarkable that scientific men, writing half a century ago, should have taken the religious ground as their stand-point, whether arguing rightly or falsely; whereas the tendency at the present day is to leave out all consideration of God, or to shrink from introducing the idea of His creative and directing Providence, except in the most cautious and guarded way.

Dr. Wallace mentions that the late Mr. Proctor, certainly a very able astronomer, in a work called *Other Worlds than ours* (written several years ago, but more recently than the two works above mentioned) took something resembling the same line as Sir David Brewster, and on much the same theological grounds. But in a second work, entitled *Our Place among Infinities*, published five years later and containing a chapter devoted to this subject, the same author gives his more matured views of this question, and argues in favour of the relative scarceness of inhabited worlds. He truly observes what a short time, comparatively speaking, in the history of this Earth, has been occupied by the existence of the higher kinds of organic life; what a vast period must have elapsed before the Earth was inhabitable at all; so that there is a considerable chance that the other planets in our system are not in that exact stage of their existence which would fit them for the habitation of life, or at least of highly developed life such as we are acquainted with here. But as regards the stars, though we do not know the conditions required for the formation of planetary systems around them, yet considering the immensity of the universe, there might be many worlds producing life as upon our own Earth.

The author of the work now before me explains that he is addressing it not merely to men of science, but to

educated readers in general; and after giving a short account of the controversy on the plurality of inhabited worlds, devotes a large portion of his book to explaining the marvellous discoveries of what is termed the New Astronomy, dating as it does from about the middle of the nineteenth century; but he suggests in his preface that those who are acquainted with modern astronomy may omit this earlier part of the book, though I myself am disposed to advise all readers to look through it with as much attention as they can bestow. The controverted points are mostly reserved for the latter part of the work, and require more attention. I will endeavour to give in a compressed form some sketch of what our author tells us concerning the New Astronomy, though I fear that my readers will accuse me of dwelling on it at too great a length, and yet it is almost necessary for the due comprehension of the whole subject.

I may premise that the general opinion of the ancients, though with some exceptions, as also that of the middle ages, was that the Earth, a vast sphere, was suspended in the centre of the universe, and that the Sun and all the heavenly bodies revolved around it. This was held until the time of Copernicus, whose theory of the motions of the planets was so near an approximation to the truth that it actually gave the author's name to the system which recognised the Sun as the centre around which the planets, including the Earth, revolve; the system being still popularly called *Copernican*.

The work of Copernicus was favourably received, but does not seem to have made permanently such an impression as might have been expected—as, indeed, the violent opposition to Galileo shows to have been the case. But by this time something else had taken place which was destined to shatter the old system of astronomy, not indeed immediately, but slowly and surely—the invention of the telescope. This instrument was first turned upon the heavens by Galileo; but probably few, if indeed any, foresaw at the time how completely the telescope would revolutionise the pre-existing notions of astronomy.

Kepler was a contemporary of Galileo, and the publi-

cation of his three celebrated laws was a marked advance in the science. Copernicus had made the mistake, a most natural and excusable one, of supposing the planets to revolve around the sun in circles; Kepler discovered that they revolved in elliptical orbits, the Sun not being in the centre, but in one of the foci. It still remained, however, to find the key to the system, and to explain why these celestial motions proceeded in the order which was observed. Later on, towards the close of the seventeenth century, this was done principally by the great genius of Newton and the discovery of the law of universal gravitation. According to this law, all bodies attract each other directly in proportion to their combined masses, inversely as the square of their distance from each other. In the case of the Sun and a planet, strictly and scientifically speaking, neither exactly revolves around the other, but they both revolve around their common centre of gravity. True it is that with respect to the Sun and the Earth this centre of gravity is within the volume of the Sun, the mass of which is so enormously greater than that of the Earth; and though this be not so with all the planets, nevertheless, owing to the vast mass of the Sun, to which I have just alluded, the centre of gravity is always so near him that practically we may speak of all the planets in the Solar system as revolving around the great central luminary.

Dr. Whewell, in an eloquent passage in his *History of the Inductive Sciences*, after recounting the process by which the theory of universal gravitation was established under Newton's auspices, speaks of it as the greatest scientific discovery that had ever yet been made—so that astronomy was enabled by it to pass from boyhood to maturity. There is a great deal of truth in this; but it was some time before the discovery was fully and entirely accepted.

I do not propose on the present occasion to discuss the action of the Roman Congregations in the case of Galileo: I may however remark that the first relaxation of the anti-Copernican restriction was in 1757, during the pontificate of Benedict XIV., when a new Index was published in which was omitted the long-standing

prohibition of books teaching the suspected doctrine. In the year 1820 a permission appears to have been given by the Holy Office for teaching the truth of the movement of the earth ; and again in 1822, during the reign of Leo XII., a decree was issued declaring that the printing and publishing at Rome of works treating of the movement of the Earth and the immobility of the Sun was henceforth permitted.

To return however to the subject before us, we may remark that Newton's discovery was readily accepted in England, as might have been anticipated ; and the old system of astronomy as taught by Ptolemy was displaced here, as indeed it was eventually everywhere.

In the early part of the nineteenth century astronomical science seemed in some sense to have come to a standstill : Adams and Le Verrier had certainly discovered the planet Neptune ; but so far as any great development of the science was concerned, nothing had happened and nothing was expected.

Our author quotes Auguste Comte, the founder of the system of the Positivists, who wrote a popular work on astronomy in 1844, in which he states that since the stars are only accessible to us by night, we can know little more than their mere existence ; that it was in vain that men had endeavoured to distinguish two astronomies, the one solar, the other sidereal ; and that in the eyes of those for whom science consists of real laws and not of incoherent facts, the second exists only in name : to which he added that he was not afraid to assert that it would always be so.

Three years after the death of Comte, in 1860, the German physicist Kirchhoff discovered the method of spectrum analysis, resulting in a flood of light being thrown upon the nature of chemistry, both of the Sun and of the stars, enabling us to acquire that very knowledge which Comte had thought impossible, including the existence of numerous stars, otherwise invisible ; the determining of stellar orbits, their rate of motion and their mass, at least approximately.

Here, however, some explanation is necessary. The property of a piece of glass, shaped like a prism, in dispersing

the light of the sun and showing all the colours of the rainbow, had long been known. Light is believed to be due to the vibrations of ether, that invisible and mysterious substance, "which fills space at least as far as the remotest of the visible stars and nebulae;" and these minute vibrations produce the phenomena of heat, light and colour. It has been found by experiment that the size and rate of vibration of the waves of ether vary considerably, those forming the red light (the least refracted) "having a wave length of about $\frac{1}{320000}$ of an inch, while the violet rays at the other end of the spectrum are only about half the length, or $\frac{1}{630000}$ of an inch. The rate at which the vibrations succeed each other is from 302 millions of millions per second for the extreme red rays to 737 millions of millions for those at the violet end of the spectrum." Such are the wonderful minuteness and rapidity of these heat and light waves, on which so much depends. Besides the *colours* of the spectrum, as shown by the prism, our author goes on to tell us that "very early in the nineteenth century a close examination showed that it was everywhere crossed by black lines of various thicknesses, sometimes single, sometimes grouped together." Accurate drawings and maps were made of these lines by several observers who, by combining a number of prisms, succeeded in producing a spectrum of considerable length (some feet long), so that "more than 3,000 of these dark lines were counted in it. But what they were and how they were caused remained a mystery till, in the year 1860, . . . Kirchhoff discovered the secret, and gave to chemists and astronomers a new and quite unexpected engine of research."

"It had already been observed," our author continues, "that the chemical elements and compounds, when heated to incandescence, produced spectra consisting of coloured lines or bands; . . . and it had also been noticed that some of these bands, especially the yellow band produced by sodium, corresponded in position with certain black lines in the solar spectrum. Kirchhoff's discovery consisted in showing that when the light from an incandescent body passes through the same substance in a state of vapour or gas, so much of the light is

absorbed that the coloured lines or bands become black. The mystery of more than half a century was thus solved ; and the thousands of black lines in the solar spectrum were shown to be caused by the light from the incandescent matter of the sun's surface passing through the heated gases or vapours immediately above it, and thereby having the bright coloured lines of their spectra changed by absorption to comparative blackness."

We ought to pay great attention to this explanation which I have just quoted, for it is the key to a great problem, the solution of which is the glory of the modern astronomy.

I may observe, by the way, that the above-mentioned is not the only instance of an object really bright appearing to be black—the spots in the Sun being a striking case, since they seem to us to be black on account of the extreme brilliancy of their surroundings. The chemists and physicists of the day lost no time in examining the spectra of the elements and comparing them with the dark lines of the solar spectrum, the result being that very many of the coloured bands in the former corresponded exactly with a group of dark lines in the spectrum of the Sun ; and an inference was drawn, doubtless correctly, that a large number of terrestrial elements existed (in a very highly heated condition) in the Sun, among them being hydrogen, sodium, iron, copper and many others ; also one supposed then to be peculiar to the Sun, though since discovered in a rare terrestrial mineral to which the name of Helium was given. The number of lines by which the elements were represented varied considerably, iron having more than 2,000, lead and potassium only one each.

It is surmised that the mysterious element radium exists in the Sun ; but this will no doubt be more fully investigated.

An improvement was now introduced in the instrument of observation ; diffraction-gratings (as they are termed), formed of a polished surface of hard metal, ruled with extremely fine lines, being substituted for glass prisms. It was found to be more easy in this way to obtain a large and well-defined spectrum. Then by means of telescopes

with micrometers the wave-lengths of the different parts of the spectrum came to be accurately measured; and as these wave-lengths are so excessively minute, a still smaller unit of measurement was fixed upon, namely, the ten-millionth of a millimetre (technically termed "tenth meter"), equivalent in English measures to about the 250-millionth of an inch. "This excessively minute scale of wave-lengths . . . is of great importance. Having the wave-lengths of any two lines of a spectrum so determined, the space between them can be laid down on a diagram of any length, and all the lines that occur in any other spectrum between these two lines can be marked in their exact relative position."

The possession of such a powerful and delicate instrument made it possible to establish the science of Astrophysics, to which the popular name of New Astronomy has been given.

The next step, after the interpretation of the Sun's spectrum and the knowledge thereby gained of the substances existing in the Sun, was the discovery of the real nature of the stars. They had long been believed by astronomers to be suns, an opinion well justified by their great brilliancy notwithstanding their enormous distance—a distance so great that the whole diameter of the earth's orbit did not appear to cause a change of their relative positions; at least, such as could be readily detected. "The spectroscope at once proved the correctness of this opinion. As one after another was examined, they were found to exhibit spectra of the same general type as that of the sun—a band of colours crossed by dark lines." Those first examined showed that nine or ten of the elements already familiar to us existed in them.

It was soon found that the stars might be classed in three or four groups. One group contains, it is said, more than half the visible stars, and a still larger proportion of the most brilliant, such as Sirius, Vega, Regulus, Alpha Crucis. "They are characterised by a white or blueish light, rich in the ultra-violet rays, and their spectra are distinguished by the breadth and intensity of the four dark bands due to the absorption of hydrogen."

Another group, "to which Capella and Arcturus belong,

is also very numerous, and forms the solar type of stars. Their light is of a yellowish colour, and their spectra are crossed throughout by innumerable fine dark lines." A third group consists of red and variable stars, characterized by fluted spectra. A last group, consisting of few and comparatively small stars, has also fluted spectra. These groups were first established by Father Secchi, S.J., in 1867. There is some uncertainty as to the interpretation of the different spectra, but there is little doubt that they correspond with differences of temperature and other differences in the various groups. Also we infer, as an unquestionable fact, that the stars are true suns, differing in their size and their stage of development, but all possessing a light-emitting surface, and absorptive atmospheres of various qualities.

There is, moreover, another application of the spectroscope—one, indeed, truly marvellous—that of measuring the rate of motion of any of the visible heavenly bodies in a direction either directly towards us or from us, however distant it may be. This depends on the wave-theory of light, and the principle is the same as that well-known in acoustics, where we find by experience that the pitch of any note sounded by a body rapidly approaching us is higher than that from the same body receding from us, the distances in each case being equal. The whistle of a railway engine is a good instance. In the case of a star, the colour of a particular part of the spectrum depends upon the rapidity with which the ethereal waves reach our eyes; so that the difference in this rapidity, when the source of light is receding from us, or on the other hand approaching to us, causes a slight shifting in the position of the coloured bands of the spectrum, and therefore of the dark lines—that is, of course, if there be a motion sufficient in amount to produce a perceptible shift. Sir William Huggins, in 1868, found, by means of a very powerful spectroscope, that a change of this nature did occur in the case of many stars and that their rate of motion towards us or away from us—the radial motion, as it is termed—could thus be calculated.

A remarkable result of this last-mentioned discovery is the fact that it has now become possible to determine the

existence of invisible stars, that is to say, that though in binary systems, where two stars revolve around their common centre of gravity, both stars are generally visible, yet many are now known of which one star only is visible, while "the other is either non-luminous or is so close to its companion that they appear as a single star in the most powerful telescopes."

Some of the stars known as variable stars belong to this last-mentioned class, a very good example being Algol in the constellation Perseus, which changes its apparent magnitude in a few hours, owing to a dark companion of a size not much inferior to its own. The majority, however, of the double stars are both bright. They have separate spectra, discernable as such by the best spectroscopes, though, in many cases, no telescope shows them as more than one star. And, in fact, by the aid of this wonderful instrument not only double stars, but triple and multiple systems, have been discovered.

There is one other important result of spectrum analysis, which is the demonstration that true nebulae exist, and that they are not all, as was once supposed, clusters of stars. There is reason to believe that they are the material out of which stars are formed and that, as our author expresses it, "in their forms, aggregations, and condensations, we can trace the very process of evolution of stars and suns." There are only one or two of these masses of gaseous or other matter visible to the naked eye; but many can be seen by the aid of a good instrument.

There remains one most important engine of research to be noticed, which has come into use in recent times, that of celestial photography. If a good camera is properly mounted so that an exposure of several hours can be made, stars can be photographed so minute in point of apparent magnitude as to be invisible even in the most powerful telescopes. Thus too, by the preservation of photographic plates, on which the spectra are self-recorded, the discovery of new variable and binary stars has been rendered possible. The number of stars visible to the unaided eye has been estimated by the American astronomer Pickering to be 5,333; but this calculation includes those slightly less than

the sixth magnitude, some of which are barely visible without a telescope. Those which can be discerned with good instruments amount to at least 100 millions; and, indeed, some astronomers would say very many more.

Now, a very large proportion of the stars lie in that vast belt so well known even to superficial observers which we term the Milky Way, or Galaxy. As an important part of Dr. Wallace's argument is connected with this enormous aggregation of stars, he devotes a considerable space to the description of it, and introduces some long extracts from Sir John Herschell's *Outlines of Astronomy*, in which the subject is fully and minutely treated. These extracts are too long to be reproduced here; but I may say that the Milky Way follows the general course of a great circle around the heavens, that it is (as our author says) "extremely irregular in detail, sometimes being single, sometimes double, sending off occasional branches or offshoots, and also containing, in its very midst, dark rifts, spots, or patches, where the black background of almost starless sky can be seen through it."

It is to be observed that the Milky Way contains a large proportion of the brighter stars, twelve out of thirty-two brighter than the second magnitude and thirty-three out of ninety-nine brighter than the third magnitude, according to Mr. Grove's estimate. If we treat it as a great circle and count from its poles to the circle itself, we find at first a slowly increasing density of stars as we approach the Galaxy, and on reaching it the density arrives at its maximum.

The Pleiades are also mentioned as an instance of the aggregation of stars, the six visible to the naked eye being increased to hundreds by the use of a powerful telescope; while photographs, with an exposure of three hours, show more than two thousand.

Besides all these there are many clusters of stars, some globular, some irregular. "In the southern hemisphere there is a hazy star of about the fourth magnitude, Omega Centauri, which, with a good telescope, is seen to be a magnificent cluster, nearly two-thirds the diameter of the Moon." A good photograph shows more than 6,000 stars

in it, and some observers believe that there are at least 10,000. There is also a very fine cluster in the northern hemisphere in the constellation Hercules. It appears that these star-clusters are thickly strewn over the entire course of the Milky Way and along its margin, while they are scattered at rare intervals elsewhere—with the exception of the Magellanic clouds (as they are called) in the southern hemisphere, where they are densely grouped.

The nebulae, on the other hand, with the exception of a few of the larger and more irregular type, situated in or near the Milky Way, appear to avoid it, this being the case with the great majority of the smaller irresolvable nebulae which, for the most part, are spread over the sky at a distance from it. Their forms are in many instances very curious, and different from each other; some being ring-shaped, some spiral, some quite irregular. Several of them are termed planetary nebulae, from their exhibiting a faint circular disc like that of a planet. Many have stars evidently forming part of them; the greater portion, however, being minute cloudy specks, only visible with good telescopes. Nebulae were formerly supposed to be star-clusters, such as with great telescopic power might be resolved into stars. The spectroscope showed, however, that they were generally composed of glowing gases, and neither the best telescopes nor the photographic plate gave indications of their resolvability, although a few stars were found to be, as it were, entangled in them.

Dr. Wallace enters with some detail into the question of the distances of the Sun and stars. I do not however propose to follow all the details, but for the most part to give merely the results without explaining minutely the methods of investigation. There are two or three ways of ascertaining the Sun's distance, and the result that has been arrived at is that the figure of 92,780,000 miles represents it with a fair amount of accuracy. It is not possible to find it with rigid exactitude, and an error of 200 or 300 thousands of miles must be allowed for—not a very formidable margin of inaccuracy after all in computing such a vast distance.

And yet this distance is nothing as compared to those of

the stars. When we speak of parallax in the astronomical sense of the word, and as applied to the Sun, Moon and planets, we mean the angle made by two imaginary lines, one drawn from the heavenly body in question to the place of the observer (generally supposed to be at the equator), and the other from the same body to the centre of the Earth. The distance of the Moon is calculated with great accuracy by using the radius of the earth in this way as a base line. But when we come to the stars the case is widely different. The radius of the earth is, if it were viewed from the nearest star, simply a vanishing point. The only way of measuring these enormous distances is to take the diameter of the Earth's orbit as the base line, and to observe carefully the displacement of some particular star at intervals of six months, that is, at opposite points of this diameter of more than 185,000,000 miles in length. By observing the very slight change of position, as referred to other stars, with the fine instruments now in use, it has become practicable to calculate the distances of about sixty stars with some fair approach to certainty, though with a considerable margin of error; and perhaps twenty more with less approach to accuracy. The nearest of them all is Alpha Centauri, a star of the southern hemisphere, and not visible in these countries. It is nearly twenty-five billions of miles distant (about 275,000 times as far as the Sun); and it is computed that its light takes more than four years in travelling to us. This gives us some idea of the vast space which separates us from even our nearest neighbour in the great stellar system, particularly when we remember that the velocity of light is about 186,330 miles in a second; and it has now become the custom of astronomers to reckon stellar distances by light-years. Thus we learn that the star which is supposed to be the second in proximity to us, No. 61 in the constellation Cygnus, has a light-journey of about $7\frac{1}{4}$ years. This is a star of the fifth magnitude, a circumstance which shows that the brilliancy of a star (which is what we mean by magnitude) is no real test of its distance.

I must not omit to notice that one of the most remarkable

discoveries of modern astronomy is what is termed the proper motion of the stars. I have already alluded to this, and to the light that the spectroscope has thrown upon it. It was at one time imagined that these celestial bodies were motionless, and they were called *fixed stars* (a name that still clings to them); but in many cases it has been clearly ascertained that they are moving; and though as regards the greater number of them no such movement can be detected, we suppose that this arises from their enormous distance from us, and that probably all are really in motion. If it be so, it is surely one of the most striking facts that modern science has revealed to us—nothing in the universe at rest, everything moving. How different from what was at one time supposed, even by able and enlightened men!

This leads us to the consideration of the motion of the Sun itself, which is believed by modern astronomers to exist. This was originally suggested by the apparent motions of some of the nearer stars, supposed to be really due to that of the sun, with all the planets that attend him. I do not think that this is absolutely certain, for it is just possible that these stars are truly in motion; yet as the Sun is undoubtedly a star, it is most probable that, like the others, he has a proper motion of his own. There is a doubt too as to the direction in which the Sun is moving, though probably it is towards the constellation Lyra. The rate of motion is perhaps about $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles in a second; but this is to a great extent dependent upon conjecture. This solar movement is a point to be carefully borne in mind, for it has been used by one of Dr. Wallace's critics to attack an important part of his argument, as we shall hereafter see.

I may observe that in all probability as many of the stars surpass our Sun in brilliancy (as to which there can be no possible doubt), so there is every reason to believe that there are several which exceed him in size and in mass. The stars of the white or Sirian type are supposed generally to have a greater surface brilliancy than the Sun. The great star Canopus in the Southern hemisphere might be estimated (though this is rather guess work) to

have a diameter more than twenty times that of our Sun. Where there are binary stars, their mass—the mass of the binary system—can be calculated with some approach to accuracy, and there is no doubt that in some cases they greatly exceed the Sun in this respect.

Our author, considering it to be necessary that in investigating the nature of the stars we should have some knowledge of our own Sun, communicates to his readers at some length what astronomers have ascertained on this subject. The sun's density is less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ times that of water, about one-fourth that of the Earth. "All the evidence goes to show that the body of the Sun is really gaseous, but so compressed by its gravitative force as to behave more like a liquid." Its diameter is about 867,000 miles. What we see as the Sun's surface is the photosphere, as it is called; and it is in fact the outer layer of this gaseous or partially liquid matter kept at a definite level by the force of gravitation. This surface is sometimes broken by what are termed sun-spots, as to the nature of which there has been considerable difference of opinion; and into this question I do not now propose to enter. Immediately above this luminous photosphere, from which are given out the light and heat which reach the Earth, there lies what is called the "reversing layer," a few hundred miles thick, somewhat cooler than the photosphere, and consisting of dense metallic vapours. "Above the reversing layer comes the chromosphere, a vast mass of rosy or scarlet emanations, surrounding the Sun to a depth of about 4,000 miles." From this issue the prominences, as they are called, from which shoot out flames with very great velocities, then again rapidly subsiding.

"Beyond the red chromosphere and prominences is the marvellous white glory of the corona, which extends to an enormous distance round the Sun." These solar envelopes, none of which have the nature of a true atmosphere, are only visible to us when the light of the photosphere is completely shut off, as is the case during a total eclipse of the Sun. They probably consist, partly at least, of liquid or vaporous matter in a very finely divided state. It is to be noted that the whole of our sunlight passes through the

reversing layer and the red chromosphere, and therefore its colour is probably modified by them ; so that there is reason to believe that if they were absent the light and heat of the Sun would be greater and its colour would be a purer white tending towards blue, rather than to the yellow tinge it now possesses.

I ought now to remind my readers, at least such of them as are not well acquainted with astronomy, that the greater part, if not the whole, of what I have so far put before them, being mainly the substance of the first five or six chapters of Dr. Wallace's work, consists of truths which are not now controverted by men of science. Much, on the other hand, of what follows carries us over debateable ground ; though even here we shall find many things which are not only undoubted facts, but, coming from the pen of so experienced a naturalist, highly instructive and interesting.

There is one point on which he lays some stress, and here he will have the assent, I think, of the great majority of astronomers, and that is the unity of the Stellar Universe, so far as we see it or know it. This appears from what we have already learnt as to the structure and composition of the stars, which, differing though they do from one another in detail, and in some cases very considerably, yet have been shown by the spectroscope to be composed of the same elements and material compounds which we know to exist in the Earth and the Sun, though variously combined in different classes of stars. The same physical laws, moreover, appear to extend over the whole Universe. The fundamental law of gravitation is evidently in force, as is rendered almost or quite certain by the fact that double stars move around their common centre of gravity in elliptical orbits, which is precisely what they would do if under the influence of this great law. There seems also to be an identity in the laws of light, as is inferred from spectroscopic observations. Dr. Wallace, I should observe, lays some stress on the position of most of the *nebulæ*, lying as they do round the poles of the Milky Way, while the stars are scattered in profusion in its plane.

I think all astronomers whose opinion is worth noticing will grant the author this point—the unity of the visible universe. Nor would they dispute the general theory of the evolution of the heavenly bodies—that the stars are probably developed from nebulae, and that they go through several stages of existence, rising to a degree of extreme heat, and subsequently cooling, till eventually they become dark cold bodies. These processes are spread over millions of years, and consequently are generally imperceptible to human observation. Our Sun is supposed to be a cooling star, but cooling so gradually that no appreciable diminution of his heat has taken place within historical times.

This, however, leads me to touch upon a subject on which there is, unquestionably, a difference of opinion. Dr. Wallace is a decided antagonist of the celebrated "nebular hypothesis"; he goes so far, indeed, as to say that during the last thirty years so many objections to it have been suggested that it has been felt impossible to retain it even as a working hypothesis. But here he is at issue with such an able astronomer as Sir Robert Ball, whose work, published in 1901, and entitled *The Earth's Beginning*, maintains the nebular theory as confidently as Dr. Wallace denies it. As many of my readers know, "this theory, very briefly stated, is that the whole of the Solar system once formed a globular or spheroidal mass of intensely heated gases, extending beyond the orbit of the outermost planet, and having a slow motion of revolution about an axis. As it cooled and contracted, its rate of revolution increased, and this became so great that at successive epochs it threw off rings, which, owing to slight irregularities, broke up, and gravitating together, formed the planets. The contraction continuing, the Sun, as we now see it, was the result."

This theory, originally suggested by the great French astronomer Laplace, has with some modifications been extensively held. There are, however, some grave objections to it. Dr. Wallace favours, on the other hand, what he terms the meteoric hypothesis. This by no means denies the existence of the primitive nebulae, but supposes that, in the intense cold of space, the gases of the metallic

and other elements would rapidly become liquid and then solid, forming meteoric dust. This matter, it is further supposed, was dispersed somewhat irregularly, and from some cause or other was all in motion. "Wherever the matter was most aggregated, there would be a centre of attraction through gravitation, which would necessarily lead to further aggregation, and the continual impacts of such aggregating matter would produce heat. The Sun would thus in course of time be formed, and would acquire sufficient heat by collision and gravitation to convert its whole body into the liquid or gaseous condition." So also subordinate centres of aggregation would form, would capture a certain proportion of the matter flowing towards the central mass, and, in consequence of the velocity with which the whole system was revolving, would circulate around the central mass, in somewhat different planes, but in the same direction. Thus the planets would be formed, Jupiter probably first, then Saturn and the other outer planets; while owing to the greater attractive power of the Sun, which would capture more of the meteoric matter flowing towards him, the inner aggregations would be smaller.

The *nebulæ*, of which such a number are known to exist, are, we suppose, vast aggregations of meteorites or cosmic dust, or of the more persistent gases, and possibly even now stars may be forming from them.

I do not propose to discuss the merits of the nebular hypothesis as suggested by Laplace, or of the more modern meteoritic theory. I may, however, say in passing that I do not think either of them accounts fully for the rotatory motion which pervades the whole system, and must have been in force from the earliest beginnings.

I have already mentioned a very interesting discovery which has been made in modern times—the existence of great numbers of double and multiple stars. During the century that has recently come to its close, many thousands of double stars have been discovered by the telescope; and these are by no means all, for still more recently the spectroscope has revealed the fact that there is a vast number of double stars that the telescope could not

discover, which are really double, though appearing as single stars even in the most powerful telescopes. These are termed *spectroscopic binaries*.

The times of revolution of these double stars around their common centre of gravity varies from a considerable number of years down to months and days, so that in some cases they must be in close proximity. Indeed, it is supposed that there are instances in which, owing to very rapid rotation, stars have undergone disruption and have divided themselves into two, thus becoming double stars revolving at a small distance around their centre of gravity.

There are more than twenty stars which have each of them what is called a dark companion, that is, a large non-luminous body, which being very close to the star obscures it either wholly or partially during each revolution, the two, of course (as in the case of bright stars), revolving around the common centre of gravity. Some of these are believed to be as large as our Sun, or even larger; five of them are said to be revolving in absolute contact, forming systems of the shape of a dumb-bell.

I beg my readers to pay special attention to all these things: if it be true that, as Professor Campbell (of the Lick Observatory, in America) has suggested, that most stars will prove to be, generally speaking, double or *spectroscopic binaries*; or even if this estimate be somewhat exaggerated, yet it is evident that in a very great number of stellar systems a totally different state of things prevails from that with which we are familiar in our own solar system, and consequently the chances of there being bodies where organic life exists as it does on our Earth are incalculably diminished.

I must not pass over the remarkable phenomena of *clusters* of stars, "which are literally abundant in the heavens," in some of which more than 6,000 stars have been counted, besides considerable numbers so crowded in the centre as to be difficult or impossible to count. It is surmised that in these clusters we have the result of the condensation of "large nebulæ, which have first aggregated towards numerous centres while these agglomerations have been slowly drawn towards the common centre

of gravity of the whole mass." There are some large nebulae near the borders of the Milky Way, and it is in, or near to, the Milky Way that star-clusters are excessively abundant. It should be remarked that there are in the globular clusters a large quantity of variable stars; and "when we consider," as our author puts it, "that variable stars form only a portion, and necessarily a very small proportion, of binary systems of stars, it follows that in all the clusters which show a large proportion of variables, a very much larger proportion—in some cases perhaps all—must be double and multiple stars revolving round each other." This appears to be the opinion of Professor Newcomb, who is quoted as having said that "it is probable, among the stars in general, single stars are the exception rather than the rule."

Dr. Wallace discusses at some length the question whether the stars are infinite in number. It is of some importance to his argument, because, as we shall presently see, he relies on our (real or supposed) central position in the visible universe as pointing to the conclusion he desires to draw—that the Earth is the one great abode of the higher forms of life. If the universe were infinite in extent, it is obvious that this argument would be seriously weakened; for who can say what is the central position in a universe that stretches out to infinity, or whether there is any centre at all? Dr. Wallace endeavours to show that even if it were so, and there were an infinite number of stars distributed through endless space, and if there were systems totally distinct from our own in structure and so remote that they have no influence on us yet our position within the stellar universe (that we know) might have the same importance as it has under the assumption that the universe is finite. At the same time I think it must be allowed that the supposition of an infinite universe, strictly and really such, would materially damage his argument. He takes, however, the better and stronger ground of denying the probability of such an infinity existing and gives his reasons accordingly. One reason is that if there were an infinite number of stars scattered through infinite space there would be such a blaze of light in the sky as would

be theoretically greater than sunlight. He quotes the great American astronomer Professor Newcomb, who has made a mathematical calculation to that effect; but his calculation depends on the condition that "every great portion of space is, in the general average, equally rich in stars," and it is obvious that you cannot be sure of any such condition. Besides which, however strong the theoretical argument may be, we have this practical fact before us: that a number of stars, owing either to their comparatively small size, or more probably to their enormously remote distance, are absolutely invisible even in the most powerful telescopes and are only known to us through the medium of photographic plates; and I confess that I do not see how stars that are still more remote—so distant, indeed, that they cannot even be photographed—could go very far towards producing such a blaze of light as supposed. Another objection to this argument has been raised, namely, that there are probably, if not certainly, a number of dark bodies in the universe as well as the bright stars, and these bodies might obscure the light of their bright companions. But it may be replied that the dark bodies do not obscure the millions of stars that we now see so as to prevent their light from reaching us; and we may well ask why they should do so in the supposed infinite distance beyond. I do not, therefore, attach very much weight to this objection; nor, as I have already said, very much weight to the argument it is intended to meet.

A stronger reason, however, is that in the case of those stars which are visible in very powerful instruments there appears to be a very rapid diminution in the number of the fainter as compared with the brighter ones, a circumstance which tends to indicate that their number is finite. Moreover, there are all over the heavens areas of some considerable extent where stars are either quite absent, or very faint, and few in number; so that when we look at them we probably "see completely through our stellar universe into the starless depths of space beyond."

There is, of course, a difference of opinion amongst astronomers on this question. Speaking for myself, I do not believe that there is anything infinite in the whole

world, God alone excepted. There are, no doubt, persons who hold that space is infinite. But what is space? A question more easily asked than answered.* Let us then grant to Dr. Wallace that the stellar universe is not infinite, and proceed to consider his argument as to the position of the solar system (of which we form a part) with regard to the Milky Way, and to the whole stellar universe. The Milky Way, he tells us, and I think tells us truly, notwithstanding its irregularities and divisions, forms a great circle in the heavens. He also quotes Professor Newcomb, Miss Agnes Clerke, and others, as holding that we are situated in the plane of this great circle. Again, after quoting Sir Norman Lockyer's opinion that the solar system is in the centre, he goes on to say that the conclusions of some of the most eminent astronomers point to the inference that our position is *not very far from the centre* of the vast ring of stars constituting the Milky Way. It appears that Dr. Wallace, in one of his magazine articles, rather overstated this conclusion, and put it as if we were exactly in the centre of the universe; and for this he was severely criticised by Professor Turner (in the *Fortnightly Review* for April, 1903). It is rather strange that the criticism should have come from that quarter, for, if my memory does not deceive me, I heard Professor Turner himself, at a meeting of the Royal Astronomical Society, of which he is, during this year, the president, make this very remark—that we are apparently in the centre of the universe (I suppose he meant *approximately* so). This occurred a few months ago, presumably since the date of his critical article. Whether he has reconsidered his first opinion or whether he intended to direct his criticism merely against Dr. Wallace's over-statement, I do not know.

Mr. Maunder, in a fair and generous review of the

* It is true that in advanced mathematics we have to deal with infinities, quantities infinitely great and infinitely small; but, as students of the science know, these are not absolute but relative infinities; just as (to take an illustration from astronomy) the radius of the earth, great as it is, and furnishing a base line sufficient for calculating the distance of the moon and some other heavenly bodies, is simply a vanishing point as it would appear from the nearest star, the distance of which is *relatively* infinite as compared to it.

present work in the scientific publication called *Knowledge* (December, 1903), draws a distinction between the two, and quite admits the truth of a modified statement, that "in this very loose sense [*i.e.*, as stated in the present volume] the Sun is central in the central plane of the Milky Way." The fact of our central position, if it be true, is obviously a very striking one and highly suggestive. But Professor Turner has another objection to make—and he is not the only one who makes it—arising from the probable motion of the solar system in space, owing to which, even if the Sun is now in the centre of the visible universe, he was not so in times past and will not be so in the future. Dr. Wallace has two answers to give to this objection—one is, that it is not quite certain that the solar system is moving in this way: it has been inferred from some apparent motions of the stars, which are most readily explained in this way; but there may be another explanation, and he quotes Miss Agnes Clerke and Mr. Monck as suggesting the possibility of the motions of these stars being not merely apparent but real, so that these observed facts might be reconciled with the supposition of a motionless sun. Another and a stronger answer is that the critics have argued as if the Sun were moving in a straight line, which is extremely improbable, if not impossible. If the Sun is in motion, it is doubtless under the influence of the law of gravitation, and therefore in all probability in an elliptic orbit, which would, in fact, bring him in the long course of years to the same point (approximately) which he previously occupied.

I think, then, that it must be conceded to Dr. Wallace that, in the modified sense mentioned above, he has shown that the solar system is situated *near*, or comparatively near, to the centre of the stellar universe. Such a fact, important though it be, may not go very far in the way of proof; if, however, as may well be said in this case, there is no question of positive proof, but only of balancing probabilities, then the nearly central position of our system must be allowed to have some weight.

Our author considers it also to be a fairly well-established fact that we are surrounded by a cluster of stars of unknown

extent, not far removed from the centre of the galactic plane, and that these stars are generally of the solar type ; but I do not see how this strengthens his case, particularly as he does not seem quite clear as to the position of the Sun in this cluster, in one place putting it "not far from the centre of this group," and in another passage placing it "towards the outer margin of the dense central portion of the solar cluster," and revolving, with other stars, around the centre of gravity of the cluster.

Here for the present I must pause, and I propose in the next number of this Review to explain Dr. Wallace's striking argument in favour of his opinion, drawn from the nicely balanced condition of various circumstances which render this Earth a fit habitation for man and for the more highly organised animals.

F. R. WEGG-PROSSER.

(To be continued.)

ART. VII.—THE BENEDICTINE NUNS OF CAMBRAY.

SO much has been written about the sufferings experienced by all classes of society during the French Revolution, that it would seem as if the subject were well-nigh exhausted, or that what remains unpublished is of little or no value. But those English readers who are unacquainted with or unable to read French with much fluency, have not had many opportunities of realising what brutal treatment many holy and virtuous English women had to undergo, at a time when hatred for the Christian religion was pushed to a terrible degree. Many facts that would be of the greatest interest to English readers have been published in France, but have either not been widely read or have been overlooked amongst the immense quantity of papers of more historical value. The following short account,* written by an eye-witness, herself a victim of these events, has not, I believe, been published in its entirety before, although it has been used by Madame de Courson and others in connection with matter of the same kind. An account also appeared some forty or fifty years ago in the *Rambler*. At the present day, when the convents in France are being dissolved and monks and nuns sent adrift out of the same spirit of hatred for the Catholic religion, it is well for us to remember that, if the persecution at the time of the Revolution was a bloody one, the present persecution, directed solely against the Church, is a violation of the law of France and that liberty of the individual the

* The original document is at Stonyhurst.

possession of which the French Republic takes so much pains to impress upon the world.

To add to the crime of being members of a religious order, these women were all English and formed an English Benedictine community at Cambray, where they had been settled for about one hundred and eighty years. The Order of St. Benedict was the first religious order introduced into England, and numbered amongst its sons and daughters many of the most noble and virtuous men and women of that country.

The first monastery of English Benedictine nuns, founded on the continent after the dissolution of all the religious houses in England at the Reformation, was that at Brussels. In 1597 Lady Mary Percy—a daughter of Lord Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland—after a long and severe imprisonment for daring to profess the Catholic faith, managed to escape and sought refuge in Belgium. With the assistance of Father William Holt, S.J., she obtained a Brief from Pope Clement VIII., empowering her to found an English Benedictine monastery in Brussels. In 1598 she took possession of a house she had bought, while two other ladies joined her, and she then obtained permission for Dame Johanna Berkeley, a professed nun of the great Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter, at Rheims, to come and govern the new community. Dame Johanna was solemnly blessed and installed as Abbess that same year by the Right Rev. Matthias Van Hove, Archbishop of Mechlin. A few days later she gave the habit to Lady Mary and seven other ladies, among whom were two daughters of Lord Arundell of Wardour. For this event a general holiday was observed in Brussels, and the Archduke Albert with the Archduchess Isabella, Infanta of Spain, accompanied by the Court, witnessed the ceremony. By order of the Archduke a sumptuous luncheon was provided for the community, at which the Archduke and Archduchess were present.

The following year the nuns refused an annual rent, offered them by the Infanta, for the endowment of the monastery, fearing that in the future they might thereby lose their liberty of electing their own Abbesses. Upon

the death of Lady Johanna Berkeley the community elected Lady Mary Percy as her successor and she governed the monastery for 26 years. The community flourished and increased so rapidly that in the year 1623 several of the religious were sent to assist in a foundation which was being formed at Cambray. This was the origin of the community of whose sufferings we have the following account, and who, after escaping to England and meeting with many trials, are now happily settled at the beautiful Abbey of Stanbrook in Worcestershire.

"In the summer of the year 1793, the allied armies being near the gates of Cambray, the religious were repeatedly ordered, in the most threatening manner, by the District of the above place to lay in provision for six months against the siege, which was then about to take place. We accordingly provided ourselves with such a stock of necessaries as our finances would allow us to purchase. From the commencement of the unhappy troubles we had been constantly alarmed by the visits or decrees of the agents in the Revolution, which were nowhere more outrageous than at Cambray; though our being conscious of not having given the least offence made us willing to flatter ourselves we were on that account in some degree of safety. However, on Sunday, October 13, 1793, the District of Cambray sent four of their agents to fix the public seals on all papers and effects belonging to us. These commissioners appeared at the convent at about half-past eight o'clock at night. We had retired to our cells, having to rise at midnight to perform Matins, so that it was some time before our Superior could open the enclosure door, at which they seemed not a little displeased. The Rev. Mr. Walker, who from a motive of charity assisted us as our spiritual director, was just recovering from a dangerous illness and had retired to rest; but, on hearing the general alarm, arose and immediately came to comfort and encourage us. All being assembled, one of the men, who seemed the most cruel of the company, read a long paper, the purport of which was that effects belonging to us should be seized and confiscated to the nation. Mr. Walker began to expostulate but their brutality soon silenced and astonished him; they then

proceeded to fix the seals on all the books, papers, etc., belonging to the Superior and Dame Procuratrix, threatening them all the while how severely they would be punished in case they concealed even the smallest article of their property. Having secured everything, they told us we were now to consider ourselves prisoners and then wrote a long account of their own proceedings, at the close of which they added, by desire of the community, that the religious wished to remain prisoners in their own convent under a guard, rather than be removed to any other place of confinement. This paper our Superior and Procuratrix signed. They left the convent at about eleven o'clock at night to put the seals on everything in the out-buildings, and an apartment which was appointed for the use of the chaplain; this they performed with the most exact scrutiny. They arrested the Revs. Messrs. Walker and Higginson (the latter was a priest who, in consideration of the age and declining health of the former, had some months before been appointed to assist him). To prevent these gentlemen from conversing with us they immediately deprived us of all solace from them by removing them the same night, though it was near twelve o'clock when they were hurried away. Mr. Walker was quite broken with grief, age and infirmity. We had the affliction of seeing how very roughly and inhumanly he was treated from our adjoining convent and feared they were dragging him away to immediate execution; but Providence kindly reserved him to be our support and consolation in a future place of suffering. What we felt on this occasion may be more easily imagined than expressed. That night the above gentlemen were confined in the Town House; next morning they were removed to the Bishop's Seminary, which formerly belonged to the Jesuits, but was at that time become what they termed a *maison de détention*. There they remained till November 20, 1793, deprived of the most common necessities, and were one day and a half without any other food than a bit of bread. They wrote to different inn-keepers in the town and assured them of immediate payment for the scanty subsistence they asked, but so offensive was the name of a religious person to the greater

part of Cambray, and the few well-disposed so terrified at the cruelty and wickedness of the times, that no answer was ever returned, nor could they even prevail on a barber to attend them for any reward. At last a good woman, who had lived with us in the quality of a servant, hearing by chance of the pressing distress of these gentlemen, had the courage, notwithstanding every difficulty and danger, to wait on them and procure for them the best victuals in her power. Mr. Walker frequently said she had by her charitable assistance saved him from starving.

To return to the community. From the moment the Commissioners of the District entered our house on the preceding Sunday we found ourselves strictly guarded but were still made to hope we might remain in our convent, as we had been assured by members of the District in the most solemn manner that there was neither danger nor probability of our being sent out. That this was all treachery we were afterwards convinced, for the next day, Friday, the 18th, we were suddenly seized upon by a body of light guards, part of whom surrounded the street door whilst the rest entered the convent, with a crowd of rabble attending. A very brutal man, sent by the District, headed them. When he came to the enclosure door his first question was: 'Have you laid in provision for six months?' On being assured that that had been done he seemed for an instant at a loss what to say; but, after a short pause, he gave orders that we should be totally out of the house in half-an-hour and that he would not allow us to take either trunk or box, but only each person a small bundle. His manner of speaking appeared so strangely insulting that it threw us into the greatest terror; so that amidst the hurry and confusion of so sudden and unexpected a calamity, overwhelmed with sorrow in being turned out of our much-beloved abode and for want of time to collect together our few clothes, many came away with only what they had then on. At that afflicting moment the future want of necessaries found little or no place in our distressed minds: we were almost stupefied with grief. The Procuratrix petitioned to bring away a small book which contained a few memorandums very useful to herself, but the man whom she addressed

tore the book from her hand, telling her instantly to fetch brandy for the hussars, which command she was obliged to obey, whilst this barbarous man was running about the house with a club in his hand to hasten and affright us to be gone. Thus, in less than half-an-hour, we were completely out and dispossessed of our whole property without being able to learn of anyone what was to be our fate, but thought death would soon have followed, and expected to be despatched by the fatal guillotine. On approaching the street door we found one coach and two carts, strongly guarded by a detachment of hussars on horseback with drawn swords. We were hurried away with much precipitation. The guards seemed greatly displeased at our barbarous usage and some of them even shed tears; and on the road, with the most feeling compassion, even lent their own cloaks to the religious who were in the uncovered carts to shelter them in some degree from the intense cold. Through the whole dismal journey of five days they contributed all in their power to soften and alleviate the hardships they saw us exposed to, but it was not in their ability to prevent the populace treating us with the most insulting language through whatever towns and villages we passed; and when we arrived at any place to spend the night, we were guarded by the soldiers who kept the prison in which we happened to be lodged; amongst whom we sometimes met with a variety of hardships and scenes of brutality, insomuch that we always dreaded the approach of night. We were twenty in number and one novice when expelled from the convent, viz. :—

AGED.		AGED.	
Mary Anselm Anne	... 79	Margaret Barnewall	... 37
Jane Alexander Gordon	... 78	Agnes Robinson	... 32
Elizabeth Sheldon	... 73	Anne Shepherd	... 31
Margaret Burgess	... 72	Helen Shepherd	... 29
Elizabeth Haggerstone	... 68	(<i>Lay Sisters</i>).	
Mary Blyde	... 64	Anne Pennington	... 60
Teresa Walmesley	... 55	Louisa Lefèvre	... 59
Louisa Hagan	... 53	Magdalene Kimberley	... 48
Elizabeth Knight	... 51	Anne Cayton	... 44
Elizabeth Partington	... 49	Martha Fryar	... 32
Mary Partington	... 42	Jane Milner (<i>novice</i>)	... 27

The hussars who conducted us did not for some time know where we were to be taken—they were strangers to the country, having themselves been sent for from some distance for the purpose of conveying prisoners from Cambray. They received orders every night where they were to proceed the following day. At last we found our appointed place of captivity was Compiègne, where, being distant from every friend, we might, from want of ability to act, lose every means of recovering our property which was then very considerable. The first night we were lodged in a ruinous place called Bassone. It had the appearance of having been a convent, but was almost destroyed. The violence of the rabble on seeing us was so great that we were happy to be taken into any place like a house. The Mayor of this town was a native of Cambray and well known to us, one of his sisters having received her education amongst us, but he now appeared to know nothing of us nor showed us the least indulgence. He was highly displeased at our being in the religious dress and said the people of Cambray had acted against the law by not making everyone shun a dress which the law had proscribed.

“The jailor of this prison seemed a quiet man, and his daughter was good enough to buy for us two faggots, some very brown bread and a kettle of boiling water. We made tea, but sugar and milk were delicacies not to be thought of, or at least not to be obtained; besides we were too much exhausted with the grief and the fatigue endured that day to relish that then luxurious meal; so that the greater part, not being disposed to eat, were glad to throw their wearied bodies on the floor and spread out a few bundles of clothes to stretch their languid limbs upon. Even in that state we were frequently disturbed by the guards looking through the windows. The next night we passed at Peronne, in the Citadel. Here we were guarded by the National troops whose brutality can hardly be described. Nothing can be conceived more disagreeably offensive than their language and behaviour. A woman, who appeared to belong to one of them, molested us by every means she could study; still amidst all their cruel treatment we had

the comfort to meet with some few friends. A young woman, whose father in better times had been employed by us, had the courage to make her way into our prison ; and she and her husband procured for us bread, small beer and a few boiled eggs, which were really a great treat, as some had not tasted anything for two days. We also found in this place a few bedsteads with dirty straw which the soldiers had apparently slept on for some months. We did not at first choose to lie down on them, but excessive weariness in the end overcame that difficulty. Still no rest was to be had in this scene of horror as the soldiers were passing through the greater part of the night and even through the room we occupied. Next morning, by means of a lady who was there under arrest, we procured a cup of tea each before the guards came to summon us away in order to proceed on our dismal journey.

"On Sunday morning we rested at Ham. Here was, as usual, a great stir amongst the people crying out, "Aristocrats, to the guillotine!" But this had now become too familiar to have its former effect upon us. The prison we were lodged in being situated in the environs of the town, we experienced less inconvenience from the rabble than usual ; for not to be insulted in a great degree seemed an extraordinary favour. The governor of this place proved a very quiet man. He gave orders that we should have a commodious room to ourselves, allowed clean straw to be spread over the floor, and we felt happy to lie down upon it. That night passed without noise or interruption ; next morning the governor paid us a civil visit. The woman who took care of this prison had lived in our neighbourhood in Cambay and seemed much affected on seeing our present distress. It gave her particular concern to see us go off in carts, whilst all the other prisoners, a few men excepted, were provided with coaches to their several destinations : she thought, as many others, that we were exposed in carts that we might be more open to insult. Monday evening we arrived at Noyou. Words cannot describe the terror we here felt : the carts had no sooner stopped in the middle of the market-place than thousands assembled in the most tumultuous manner around

us, since for nuns to appear in religious dress was at that time the worst of crimes. Some talked of tearing us to pieces, others were for burying us alive with the 'proscribed' dress, as they called it. The guards who conducted us endeavoured repeatedly to speak in our favour, but so great was the noise and riot amongst the populace, whose numbers had increased in a short time to a dreadful degree, that not a word could be heard. Not only the streets, but the windows and house-tops, were crowded with spectators. The hussars, finding it impossible to keep order, called up the soldiers quartered in the town, by whose assistance we were taken out of the carts half-dead with fright, after being detained in the market-place nearly an hour amidst a variety of the most outrageous insults and threats. One instance may suffice to show the disposition of the people in our regard. One of our company, a very old lady, being taken out of the cart and finding herself unable to stand, leant against the horse which stood next her, upon which the beast immediately kicked her. The rabble set up the most exulting shouts and clapped their hands for joy. The soldiers who came to assist us guarded us that night, and were extremely civil; and, from motives of compassion, conducted us to a decent inn instead of the common prison. They also allowed us to call for whatever we chose. Two officers belonging to them took particular care of us, the younger of whom could not refrain from tears. The head officers of the hussars also came to see us twice at the inn, and they did all in their power to comfort us. But nothing could now revive our broken spirits: the thought of being again exposed on the road was too distressing to admit of consolation. Their kindness was however, in our present circumstances, highly pleasing." Although it is some years since these events happened, yet the writer of this account declares her blood chills whenever she thinks of those dreadful days. Those who have experienced similar distress will excuse her for expressing herself so feelingly on the subject.

"We left Noyou about nine o'clock on Tuesday morning, and had covered our veils with coloured handkerchiefs and otherwise disguised our dress that we might pass for

French villagers, who wear no hats ; and this precaution was of some use, for the people seemed at a loss what to make of us. About four o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at Compiègne, and here our guards left us, after having said much in our favour to the Mayor and two other members of the District, whose charge it was to receive and meet prisoners attended by the National Guards. The hussars, our own friendly guards, who had all along shown us so much humanity, were natives of Normandy—most of them under twenty years of age. We were the more surprised at their charity, as they were very giddy and profane in their discourse to each other. The prisoners brought from Cambray to Compiègne at that time were fifty-two in number, our community included, and all were confined in one house. It had been a convent belonging to nuns of the Order of the Visitation but was then a common prison. The gentlemen of the District of Compiègne frequently visited the place. Whenever they called upon us they asked a thousand questions but upon the whole behaved with civility. The Procurator-Syndic, observing us half-starved and perishing with cold, had the goodness to write twice to Cambray—to the municipality of that city—to desire they would return some part of our wearing apparel ; but they never sent any. We had a room assigned us in the infirmary of the convent ; the adjoining apartment was occupied by persons of all descriptions and ranks and their numbers increased daily. They were chiefly from Cambray and its environs ; whole families were sometimes brought together. It seemed this place had been fixed on in preference to Cambray because it was more within reach of the assassins of Paris, who then deluged the streets of that capital with human blood. On November 25, 1793, a great number of prisoners were brought from Cambray, amongst whom were the Reverend Messrs. Walker and Higginson and the Honourable Thomas Roper. It is not easy to express the joy we felt on seeing Mr. Walker, for we had lost all hopes of ever seeing him again ; he also seemed much affected. But this transient gleam of pleasure was not a little allayed by orders very soon given that we should be

by no means allowed to converse with him, one of the members observing to his colleagues that if they were permitted to visit or see us some part of religious worship might probably be kept up amongst us, which, he said, they were bound to root out entirely. After this we saw Mr. Walker but seldom, and always in fear. It certainly cost him much uneasiness to be obliged to pass his time with a set of men whose manners and conversations were shocking to every well-disposed person. Soon after this the very man who had, with club in hand, turned us out of our convent, was sent after us to the same prison, but was shortly after removed to Paris, where he ended a wretched life by the guillotine, which was the fate of many who had been particularly active in the Revolution.

“For a time the allowance was one pound of bread each person per day, besides one good meal, which was to be defrayed by the prisoners conjointly, the rich paying for the poor, and strict orders were frequently given that equality should be observed, according to the new Republican law. About the beginning of June, 1794, many of us fell sick—eight were confined to their beds at the same time, and the rest so much indisposed as to be scarcely able to help their dying sisters. A woman who provided us with milk took much compassion on us and even assisted in taking care of the sick; but after a short time fell ill herself, which, unfortunately, made others afraid to come near us. The disorder was a fever, proceeding, as the doctor who attended us said, from great hardship and ill-usage. We had still only one room for the whole community—twenty-one in number, several of whom were now drawing near their end. Every person seemed to pity but none dared approach to help or comfort us, for as the disease began to spread each one trembled for himself. It was now judged proper to allow an adjoining room and the prisoners, who numbered about one hundred and sixty were permitted to walk in the garden—a favour which till then had not been allowed. Our windows were un-nailed for the benefit of fresh air, but as it was in the middle of winter and, of course, very damp and wet, this indulgence was of little or no real benefit.

"On January 12th, about two o'clock in the morning, the Rev. Mr. Walker felt himself very much indisposed but would not disturb Mr. Higginson, who slept in the same room, till his usual hour of rising. Amongst the prisoners was a physician from Cambray—a fortunate circumstance for the sick. He immediately declared Mr. Walker's case to be dangerous. His disorder increased so rapidly as to alarm everyone, for he was deservedly and universally esteemed. He fell into his agony the same evening and breathed his last about two o'clock next morning, having been ill only twenty-four hours. His disorder was generally thought to be gout in the stomach but the doctor who attended him always affirmed that the many and great hardships he had undergone, together with want of food and requisites for a person of his age and declining health, had not a little contributed to hasten his death. This fatal catastrophe distressed us beyond expression. The circumstances we were then in made his loss still more deeply and severely felt and regretted: he had for some years been as a father and exemplary friend to the community, having remained with us by choice in the very heat of the Revolution, when his life was particularly in danger, even at a time when he might have, had he pleased, lived comfortably in England.

"During his long confinement he was never heard to let fall one word of complaint, although he had suffered so much. He died as he had lived—a truly good religious—aged seventy-three. He had resided twenty years at Rome and received distinguished tokens of esteem and favour from his late Holiness Pope Pius VI. and during the last seventeen years of his life he had held, with much honour to himself and edification to his brethren, the office of President-General of the English Benedictine Congregation.

"The morning after Mr. Walker's decease — January 14th—whilst his corpse was unremoved, died Dame Anselm Anne, aged seventy-nine; the 21st of the same month also, Dame Walmesley, aged fifty-five. About the same time died Dame Margaret Burgess and Ann Pennington, a lay sister, who had been of particular service in taking care of the

sick. Her disorder was a gangrene in her arm which from the first threatened her life. No resource could the prison afford, nor would the commissioner who was over us, though in the prison and thoroughly acquainted with her distressing case, allow anything to be procured from the town, so that twenty-four hours had elapsed before any material service could be obtained; in the meantime the mortification had spread prodigiously, and her life was despaired of. She expired February 6th, aged 60. Towards the beginning of March the same year the surviving part of the community began to recover, though very slowly. The District of Compiègne now began to treat their prisoners with great severity. Many had been sent from Cambay and their whole property had been seized, though no allowance had been made towards their maintenance. On March 6th, three of the members from the District of Compiègne came to the prison, escorted by a detachment of the National Guards, and the prisoners were all ordered to assemble in a large room. Part of our community were still confined by sickness, so that only a few could attend. All the prisoners stood like condemned criminals. The Procurator-Syndic made a long harangue, putting all in mind they had hitherto been served with one meal per day, but that nothing had been advanced for so liberal a treatment and that the people of Compiègne were resolved to reimburse themselves one way or another. The prisoners alleged that they had already been stripped of everything and their houses plundered, so that to think of forcing more from them was cruel in the extreme. These expostulations, true as they really were, had not the least effect. The Procurator again and again repeated that if the sum of French *livres* he demanded was not collected amongst them and sent to the District before 10 o'clock next morning they would be punished with the greatest rigour. The prisoners, being by no means able to furnish the demanded sum, were on March 11th, stinted to coarse brown bread and water. Many of us were still unwell when this severe order came out—some were even confined to their beds. Six red herrings, which we happened to have by us when this command was given, was all that we had for three

days, not being allowed to buy anything—not even a little salt. A surgeon of Compiègne, who had attended us during sickness, was compassionate enough to go to the District where the members were assembled to beg as a favour that they would permit a little broth to be procured for Dame Alexander who was nearly eighty years old and had been confined to her bed for six weeks with a fever, but this indulgence was not granted. All we profited by the well-intentioned charity of this good man was a heap of compliments of condolence from the Mayor and other magistrates for grievances which they themselves inflicted.

“Our wants growing every day greater, we applied at last to some of the inhabitants of Compiègne for needlework, but the windows of the room we occupied being partly blocked up, little could be done ; so that in order to raise money to buy bread we contrived privately to sell, though at a great loss, a few gold crosses, etc., which we happened to have about us when we left Cambay. The magistrates, finding that nothing could be obtained from the above place, were every day still more importunate with the prisoners for money which they had not to give. One day they came to take away the beds which consisted each of a mattress and one blanket, but a charitable friend advanced the money on condition that they would leave ours for one month longer ; at the expiration of which they came again, but again another friend interposed, and thus we went on, under apprehension of being obliged to lie on a few handfuls of straw.

“On May 17, 1794, at eight o'clock in the morning, about twenty members of the District of Compiègne and six or seven of Robespierre's agents from Arras came to the prison, escorted by one hundred and twenty guards. The prisoners were immediately ordered, each one, to their own quarters, and a guard with a drawn sword was stationed within our room, strictly charged to take care that we did not open a window nor leave the apartment for one moment, and above all, that we burnt no papers. Some of us turned pale and nearly fainted, which the Mayor perceiving, with his usual good nature, ordered the guard to sheathe his sword. An officer soon after,

making his round, asked the guard why he had not his sword drawn. He answered because we were afraid, at which the officer said something scornfully about the guillotine, and with horrid imprecations commanded the man instantly to unsheathe it. This terrified us still more. Whilst in this situation we heard the jailor repeatedly calling the prisoners separately—the men first, then the women—to a lower room, but not any of them returned. In this distress we durst not even speak to one another through fear of the guard. After the most cruel suspense of about nine hours we were ordered down. It was then five o'clock in the evening. Before we had descended half-way downstairs counter orders were given, and only one or two persons who could speak French were to be admitted; the rest returned with a guard. The Commissioners began to search the pockets of the religious, but the Mayor checked them, so that they were less insolent to them than to some others. Nothing of value being found upon them they were dismissed and the whole tribe of rough fellows—about thirty in number—came up with them to the apartment where we all were. One of them was a fallen priest. He could speak a little English, and was a busy man on the present occasion, and chief orator. He addressed us in a manner which seemed most proper to terrify us, enumerating the punishments which would certainly be inflicted if we concealed either writing or anything of value from them. The Procuratrix produced the little paper money she had, while the community in general assured them that all their writings had been taken from them at Cambray. After asking many questions and talking in a low voice to each other, they withdrew, leaving on the table the little paper money we had produced, and which as yet we did not dare to take back. They then proceeded to search all the prisoners' beds, shaking the straw and moving everything about the room, and seizing the most trifling things they met with, even to a silver thimble. During the examination they tore the females' caps off their heads (some of whom were ladies of quality), unpinned their gowns, and searched them in the most cruel manner. If they found a crucifix or a reliquary of gold or silver they took it; if of an inferior

metal, they broke it and sometimes returned the pieces to the owner. From the Rev. James Higginson and the Hon. Thomas Roper (the latter of whom was a very serviceable companion in prison) they took two metal watches ; from the former two good repeating watches, which had belonged to the Revs. Messrs. Walker and Walsh. This last-mentioned gentleman had ended his life with us during the early part of the Revolution.

“ Having now stripped the other prisoners of everything of even the smallest value, they were returning to our apartment, when one of the prisoners addressed the Mayor as follows :—‘ Surely, sir, you are not going to search these poor nuns a second time? You know how barbarously they have been used by the people of Cambray, and at present you are well assured that they live in the greatest poverty, having only the smallest pittance which they gain by their needle to maintain them.’ The Mayor seemed pleased with the person who spoke, and after a short pause turned off, called the guard out of the apartment, and soon after left the prison, attended by the Administrators of the District, etc. This was one of the most suffering days we ever passed, though at that time we experienced many. The prisoners from this time were treated with greater rigour than ever and were now reduced to the utmost distress. Some passed days and weeks with no other food but bread and water and few entertained even a hope of escaping public execution, yet this seemed to have little or no effect on the morals of many. They were for the most part very ill-livers, though few days passed but one or other was taken out of the Compiègne prison to be thrown into the dungeon, there to be ready for execution ; and there some remained until the death of Robespierre. Others were taken to prison and an end put to their existence by the fatal guillotine.

“ About the middle of June, 1794, sixteen Carmelite nuns were brought to Compiègne and lodged in a room which faced ours. They had not been long there before they were hurried off to Paris, without any previous notice, for no other crime than that an emigrant priest, who had been their chaplain, had written to them and made mention of a

bishop, who was also an emigrant, desiring compliments to an elderly gentleman who was cousin to one of the community. This person, unfortunately, possessed considerable property—a crime not easily overlooked in those days. This venerable man was also conducted to Paris with the nuns. A servant who attended him seemed ready to die with grief and the good old gentleman shed tears at parting. The above religious quitted the Compiègne prison in the most saint-like manner. We saw them embrace each other before they set off, and they took an affectionate leave of us by the motion of their hands and other friendly gestures. On their way to the scaffold itself (as we were informed by an eye-witness of respectability and credit) they behaved with a calm and cheerful composure, which nothing but a spotless conscience could inspire, resulting from a joyful hope and confidence in the blessed recompense that attended their sufferings in the cause of virtue. They repeated aloud on the scaffold the Litanies of the Blessed Virgin until the fatal axe interrupted the voice of the last of this holy company. They suffered July 16, 1794. One of this community happened to be absent when her sisters were taken to Paris: she concealed herself in different places during the life of the tyrant Robespierre. After he ceased to exist—which event took place on July 28, 1794—she returned to Compiègne, and frequently visited us. She also furnished us with the names and ages of the deceased sisters, which are as follows:—

AGED.				AGED.			
Croisé ...	...	...	49	Brard ...	...	...	58
Froselle ...	...	...	51	Chrétien ...	...	...	52
Hourisset ...	...	...	52	Dufour ...	...	...	29
Le Donine ...	...	...	42	Fourcon ...	...	...	45
Libret ...	...	...	34	Fourcon ...	...	...	55
Jouret ...	...	...	79	Boussel ...	...	...	52
Pidcourt ...	...	...	98	Nezolat ...	...	...	30
Brudeau ...	...	...	—	Mournicoor ...	...	...	—

“Two or three days after the Carmelites had gone to Paris the Mayor and two members of the District of Compiègne called upon us; we were still in our religious dress, which he had frequently urged us to change; but we

always alleged that we had not sufficient money to furnish ourselves with clothes. The same day he returned to us again, called two of our company aside, and told them they must now absolutely put off that uniform—alluding to the habit—for that he durst no longer permit that prohibited dress; and that should the people again become riotous we should be more safe from their resentment in any other dress than the religious one. The truth was, he expected we should, like the good Carmelites, be soon conducted to Paris for execution, and was afraid he might be put to trouble if we were found in the conventual dress. Being repeatedly assured by us that we had no money to purchase clothes, he went himself to the apartment which those respectable ladies had occupied and brought us some of the poor clothing they had left there; these he desired we would put on without delay. We were still in want of shoes, and he very civilly said he would provide us with what we wanted, but one of the jailors standing by bluntly told us we should not long have occasion for shoes. One day, on leaving the room, the Mayor, turning to the Rev. Mr. Higginson, in a low tone of voice said: ‘Take care of your friends,’ meaning ‘Prepare them for death,’ for he well knew Mr. Higginson had nothing else in his power. The next day the news became confirmed that the poor Carmelites had been put to death by the guillotine. The old clothes which before appeared of small value were now so much esteemed that we deemed ourselves unworthy to wear them; still, forced by necessity, we put them on, and these constituted the greater part of our mean apparel on our return to England. We yet keep them, a few excepted, which we have disposed off to particular friends.

“The prisoners of Compiègne were still pressed to pay off the old debt for the allowance of one meal per day, which had been formerly given as mentioned above, but now long since withdrawn, inasmuch that during many months before we quitted this tedious confinement we were not even allowed bread unless we could pay for it. The two last months of the year 1794 and the beginning of 1795 being extremely severe, we had much to suffer from wants of various kinds, especially of fuel and warm clothing, for

no person had sufficient to keep herself, even the youngest of us, warm. The room we inhabited was large and very cold, but no entreaties could obtain for us more than one blanket each. The scarcity of provisions also increasing to a dreadful degree, bread was so hard to be procured that no inhabitant of the town was permitted to purchase more than a certain fixed allowance, which made a very scanty portion. Guards were placed at every baker's shop, and in their presence bread was weighed out to each individual until the whole poor stock was distributed; but commonly there was not sufficient quantity to supply more than half the people, who were expected each to have a little, so that no day passed without some tumult in the town. The bread in general was of the worst quality, yet we thought ourselves very fortunate when we could purchase a sufficient quantity to supply our large family. Very frequently when we had finished our meal we had not a morsel left for the next.

"The English throughout every part of France had repeatedly petitioned for some mitigation of their sufferings, and some had with becoming freedom pointed out the absurdity of detaining in confinement so many innocent sufferers, for the apprehension of whom there had never existed a pretext of justice. At last it was decreed that all foreigners should have for allowance two *livres* per day paper money. Bread was then sold at three *livres* per pound. Besides its being irregularly paid, it was quite insufficient to subsist upon in the state in which France then was, paper money being in those days reduced to a very low ebb. We received the above for the first time on December 23, 1794. Its value was then computed at twopence halfpenny or, at most, threepence in English money.

"Some time after this the prisoners began to be treated with more leniency than they had yet experienced and the Rev. Mr. Higginson and the Hon. T. Roper had liberty to go into the town. This was of much service to us, as the latter of these gentlemen proved himself indefatigable in using every means possible to procure for us both victuals and fuel, even carrying the wood himself and

running from shop to shop to buy us bread. Still, notwithstanding this seeming liberty, the situation was very disagreeable; for though the soldiers had no longer power to command us as formerly, yet the street door was open night and day, so that we could not step out of one room into the other without meeting crowds of people; and as one part of the prison was turned into a guard-house, all came in and went out at pleasure; the garden, too, was always taken up by the soldiers and the rabble.

"About this time the Convocation frequently ordered the prisoners of war to be sent from one town to another, to show them to the people. When these companies passed through Compiègne they were always lodged in our place of confinement, and nothing distressed us more than on such sad occasions to meet with brave Englishmen in want of the common necessities of life, and at the same time treated with the most inhuman scorn and contempt by the French Jacobins, who were quite elated to have an Englishman in their power.

"Whenever the above prisoners arrived all was noise and confusion, and we often expected nothing less than to see the house on fire, for the weather being remarkably cold they burnt everything they could lay hands on.

"Seeing no prospect of an end to the miseries of an unhappy country in which we had now long been sufferers, and provisions becoming daily more scarce and dear, so that it was almost out of our power to procure them at any price, we at last resolved to apply to Paris for passports to return to our native country. The Mayor of Compiègne privately advised us to take this step and assured us of his assistance: accordingly a petition was drawn up and signed by the whole community. The Mayor forwarded it to the Convention at Paris and seconded it by a letter in our favour. About ten days afterwards our liberty was announced by the District of Compiègne. After this we endeavoured to procure (with the assistance of the good Carmelite before mentioned) sacred vessels and vestments, that we might have the happiness of assisting at one Mass, the only one during our eighteen months' imprisonment, and we were in the utmost alarm the whole time.

To raise money for our journey we contrived to draw privately from England, by way of Hamburg, though at considerable loss. A most charitable gentleman, Edward Constable, Esq., of Burton, had, two years before, given us leave to call upon him for any money we might want in case of distress, which he seemed to foresee might happen. The horses being chiefly in use for the army, we found much difficulty in procuring conveyance to Calais. At last we quitted Compiègne on April 24, 1795, in two carts. We took Cambray on our way, but had not courage enough to cast an eye upon our much beloved but now lost convent. On May 3, 1795, we sailed from Calais, and on the 4th arrived in London. Our return to England was no sooner known than a lady,* still more distinguished by her extensive charities than by her station in life, sent the chaplain of her family (a clergyman of the Established Church of England) to inform us that, conceiving our station at a common inn to be exceedingly inconvenient and unpleasant, she had provided a house at the west end of the town for us during our residence in London. Here she was the first person to visit and console us. Struck with such marks of divine bounty in our regard, we ceased not to pray on behalf of the immediate instrument of it, and of her noble relatives."

E. B. B.

* This benefactress was no other than the Marchioness of Buckingham. She was a Miss Nugent and married Lord Grenville, who afterwards became the first Marquess of Buckingham. Her father, an apostate, brought her up as a Protestant, but through the example of an aunt, who led a most exemplary life, she became attracted to the Catholic Faith, and after coming by degrees to learn something of the Church, she, with great courage and under very extraordinary circumstances of difficulty, asked for instruction, and was secretly received into the Church. By her prudence and fidelity, she at last obtained from her husband permission to exercise her religion, and even to bring up her daughter in the Faith. In order not to compromise her husband's political career, she had to conceal her religion from the public generally; this she did to such an extent that even the nuns entered on their papers of that date that their benefactress was "a Protestant, though singularly kind to Catholics!" Her daughter married Lord Arundell of Wardour. The Marquess of Buckingham was the person who secured the old palace at Winchester for the use of the *émigré* priests, of course through the influence of his wife. She used to receive the Sacraments occasionally by going to the house of an old priest at three or four o'clock in the morning, her husband even going part of the way with her under some pretext, in order to evade the notice of the servants. The full details of this wonderful conversion and matters connected with it are to be found in the *Rambler*, June, 1854.

ART. VIII.—POPE ZOSIMUS AND THE COUNCIL OF TURIN.

Le Concile de Turin: Essai sur l'histoire des églises provençales au V^{me}. siècle et sur les origines de la monarchie ecclésiastique romaine, 417-450. Par E. Ch. BABUT (Bibliothèque de la Fondation Thiers, Fascicule VI.) Paris: A. Picard et Fils. 1904. 8vo., 313 pp.

THE writer of this book believes he has made an important discovery: a Council of Turin, undated in the MSS. but generally put down to about the year 405, was really held in opposition to a decree of Pope Zosimus in the year 417, and marks a "decisive crisis" in the history of the Papacy. "Pope Zosimus," he writes, "in 417, considered himself capable of disposing of churches after the manner of a sovereign, as the Emperor disposed of cities; the Council of Turin assembled in order to remedy the ambitious goings-on of certain persons, and it annulled the decree of the Pope. Twenty-eight years later, Pope Leo, in his turn, desired to speak as master of Gaul. As he remembered the conflict of 417 and knew that the Gallicans were but little disposed to bow to his decisions, he solicited the Emperor to issue an edict which should require their submission; Valentinian III. pronounced that all decrees of the Pope of Rome should henceforward be for the Bishops of Gaul so many obligatory laws, and threatened those who contravened them with criminal prosecution for *laesa majestas*. The essence of this little book consists in the combination of two facts: the defeat of Zosimus and the victory of Leo the Great; and of

two documents : the Synodal Letter of Turin and the Edict of Valentinian III."

The author has composed his work with great care and learning. I think, however, that he has completely failed to prove his point with regard to the Council of Turin, while his deductions—even if his theory of the date and purpose of that Council be allowed—go very far beyond the evidence as he himself has developed it.

Pope Zosimus was elected on the death of St. Innocent I. in March, 417, and reigned until December, 418. His hasty temper has been described in the DUBLIN REVIEW* in the case of the Pelagians. Pelagius and Celestius had been denounced to Pope Innocent by the African Councils of Carthage and Milevis, and in a more private letter of St. Augustine with five other bishops, and the Pope had replied confirming their view. Rome, said St. Augustine, had spoken, and the case was finished. He was mistaken. The two heretics came to Rome, following the false letters of submission which they had sent before them, and found there the new Pope Zosimus. Examining each before an ecclesiastical court, Zosimus declared them to be the victims of misrepresentation and that they held the Catholic Faith, and he wrote letters on the subject full, as it would seem, of fatherly joy to the Africans. These letters were written in September, 417. The African bishops knew better, but to their remonstrances Zosimus replied angrily on March 21st, asserting that his decision could not be called in question, though he had by no means assented to every syllable Celestius had said. It was probably only a week or two later that he changed his mind, after a new trial, and solemnly condemned the two heretics, sending his decision to be signed by all the bishops of the world under pain of deposition.

I have repeated these facts because they throw so much light on the character of Pope Zosimus. Impulsive, hasty, arbitrary, he was delighted with the submissive words of the heretics : "What I have received from the fountain of the Prophets and Apostles I offer to be approved by the

* July, 1897.

judgment of your Apostleship . . . to be corrected by your decision"; "We desire to be corrected by you, who hold both the Faith and the See of Peter"; while he was already prejudiced against their chief accusers, two exiled Gallican Bishops—Heros and Lazarus—who, knowing themselves to be in disfavour, had not ventured to betake themselves to Rome as accusers.

While these affairs were in progress, Zosimus was engaged in Gallican matters of importance.* He had been Pope only a few days when he issued, on March 22nd, 417, a letter to the Bishops of Gaul† in favour of Patroclus, Bishop of Arles, who must have been at Rome at the time of the Papal election. Patroclus appears to have been a bad man. He is said to have sold the episcopal office‡ and to have owed his bishopric to his friendship with the infamous *magister equitum* Constantius, whose favour, says St. Prosper,§ was sought through him. It is to be hoped that it was not in order to gain the good graces of Constantius that Zosimus favoured the Bishop of Arles. What we know of his character suggests rather that he was imposed upon by an unprincipled and lying prelate.

The letter of Zosimus ordained that no bishop and no cleric from Gaul should be received at Rome to communion unless he was furnished with a passport (*formatæ*) from the Metropolitan Bishop of Arles. This privilege is granted as a personal mark of esteem towards Patroclus. That bishop is also to have the right of consecrating the bishops of the provinces of Viennensis and the two Narbonenses. If this right were infringed, both consecrator and consecrated should lose their benefices. The "parishes" of Citharista and Gargarius are to be restored to the Bishop of Arles, and his See shall retain any parishes it may possess outside its own provinces out of respect for St.

* I here acknowledge my obligations to Hefele, the Ballerini, and to Mgr. Duchesne's charmingly written and accurate account in *Fastes Episcopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, vol. i.

† The letters of Pope Zosimus will be found in Coustant's *Epp. Rom. Pont.*, reprinted in Migne, P.L. 20. Also in *Mansi*, vol. 4, etc. I quote the numbers as in Coustant. In Jaffé they are numbered 328 foll.

‡ By the Chronologer of 452, called "Tiro Prosper," P.L. 51, 862.

§ Prosper, *Chron.*, P.L., 51, p. 591 (740).

Trophimus, who was sent from Rome as first Bishop of Arles, from which city (says the Pope) all the Churches of Gaul received the Faith. To the Bishop of Arles is further committed all business whose importance is not such as to require the attention of the Pope himself.

Patroclus is thus made a sort of primate of Gaul and a quasi-Vicar of the Pope. The new rule as to *formatæ* was especially stringent and burdensome.* The See of Arles does not seem to have had much right even to metropolitan rank. The metropolitan Sees of Gaul had only gradually emerged during the latter part of the fourth century. In one of the first years of the fifth century Arles had succeeded Trèves (owing to the incursions of the barbarians) as the seat of the Prefect of Gaul, of which it became at once the civil capital. Its rival, Vienne, metropolis of the province Viennensis, in which Arles was situated, had until then been second in civil rank to Trèves, but now it was outstripped by Arles. It is probably from this moment only that Arles seriously claimed to be the ecclesiastical metropolis of the province Viennensis.

But we have seen that Patroclus had much larger views. Passing over the claims of the ancient Church of Lyons, to this day the Primatial See of the Gauls, he represented St. Trophimus as the first Apostle of the country, and Arles as the Mother Church over all. Apparently the Pope had no suspicion that these assertions could be impugned, and Patroclus probably trusted in his new authority to refuse passports to the Roman Court to any who would contradict him. It does not follow that he invented the notion, which may well have been current in the city of Arles.

But, in fact, it was more than questionable whether Patroclus was the rightful Bishop of Arles at all. He had evidently taken care to prejudice the mind of the Pope against Heros and Lazarus, who had been Bishops of Arles and Aix. They were disciples of St. Martin, and are spoken of as holy men by St. Augustine. Heros had tried

* The general custom was that clerics received *formatæ* from their bishops, and bishops from their metropolitans. Even in Africa this rule held, and the Primatial See of Carthage had no special rights such as those given by the Pope to Patroclus, who probably wished to prevent his own enemies from going to Rome.

to save the life of the unfortunate usurper Constantine in 411 by giving him protection in his Church and even ordaining him Priest. For this he was summarily ejected from his See, probably without any ecclesiastical trial, by Constantius, who put Constantine to death contrary to his oath and set up his friend Patroclus on the episcopal throne. Lazarus had probably been deposed from the See of Aix with no more legality. Aix was the civil capital and the natural metropolis of Narbonensis Secunda, and its bishop would be in the way of Patroclus' ambition.

It has been conjectured by Mgr. Duchesne* that the Pope saw in the creation of a Vicariate in the new civil capital of Gaul a means of detaching the southern provinces from the influence of Milan, to which See they had formed a habit of carrying their differences rather than to Rome. There is probably some truth in this, but the view is exaggerated by M. Babut. In the days when Milan was the seat of the Emperor and its bishop was an Ambrose, Rome had surely no real cause for jealousy. At most it might seem irregular if Gallican bishops sought advice at this nearer capital. But there was no longer any danger that Milan would be a second Constantinople, for the Emperor's Court was now at Ravenna. It seems probable that the Pope really believed the assurances of Patroclus that Arles had an ancient prescriptive right, as the Mother Church, of acting as sole metropolis of the three provinces—Viennensis, Narbonensis Prima, and Narbonensis Secunda—just as he had rushed to the conclusion that the extruded bishops—Heros and Lazarus—were calumniators of the unfortunate Pelagius and Celestius. In this latter case he changed his mind with a generosity as whole-hearted as it was sudden, and condemned the heretics with the same severity which had dictated his vituperation of their accusers. We can hardly believe that in the second case he was playing a part.

The Pope followed up his first letter by four others, written on the 22nd, 26th and 29th of September (*Epp.* 4, 5, 6 and 7). The first of these (*Epp.* 4) seems to have been sent to Africa and other provinces, as well as to Gaul. In

* *Fastes Episcopales de l'ancienne Gaule*, vol. i., p. 94.

it he denounces two bishops of Gaul—Ursus and Tuentius—whose Sees are not mentioned. They had been formerly condemned for crimes, but in spite of this had been consecrated, without the metropolitan or comprovincials, in a place which belonged to another See, on an improper day, and besides, the deposed bishop Lazarus had assisted. Tuentius was also a Priscillianist. Both are excommunicated by the Pope in whatsoever part of the world they may be.

The letter seems to have been dictated by Patroclus. The presence of Lazarus at the consecration suggests that the province was *Narbonensis Secunda*. The acting metropolitan of that province was Proculus, Bishop of Marseilles, who was an especial enemy of Patroclus, and who was denounced by Zosimus as the consecrator of Lazarus. The absence of the metropolitan, which the Pope signalizes, means simply that Patroclus was not present. His rights would, of course, not have been admitted by the Bishop of Marseilles. Proculus was an old man and highly respected, who had been already Bishop of Marseilles at the Council of Aquileia in 381. He had long exercised the right (though not without some objections being raised) of consecrating the bishops of the neighbouring province of *Narbonensis Secunda*. The place of consecration may have been Citharista (now Ceyreste), which was claimed, as we have seen, by Patroclus as an appanage of the See of Arles, although it was close to Marseilles. As to the improper day, it appears that the Roman rule of consecrating only on Saturday and Sunday was not yet introduced into Gaul.* The crimes and the heresy may have been inventions of Patroclus.

Just a week later Zosimus writes to the bishops of *Viennensis* and *Narbonensis Secunda*. He complains that Proculus has ordained many bishops contrary to the ancient custom (apparently he is referring to the case of Ursus and Tuentius, in particular). This he has discovered in a recent investigation. The Pope had sent for Proculus, who had refused to appear. In violent language Zosimus

* There are instances of a contrary practice—for instance, the ordination of St. Martin. St. Leo writes later to enforce the Roman practice.

complains that the aged bishop had extorted from the Council of Turin a right injurious to the Apostolic See, and had induced Simplicius, Bishop of Vienne, to make an equally impudent petition to be allowed to consecrate the bishops of the province of Viennensis. This indecent daring must be nipped in the bud. The statutes of the Fathers and the reverence due to St. Trophimus cannot be violated or altered, even by the Apostolic See! Patroclus is to retain his authority over Viennensis and both Narbonenses.

What was this Council of Turin? We possess its Canons, and they tell us that the bishops met on the 22nd of September, but the year is missing.* It was probably between 398 and 407. M. Babut, however, would have us believe that it sat this very year, 417, and that Zosimus, on the 29th of September, had already received information of the conversations of the bishops before the Council, or even of its opening day, though he could not have yet known the final synodical letter with its Canons, as "ten days, or perhaps six or seven," would be needed by the messenger.†

The Council declares that it met at the demand of the bishops of the provinces of Gaul. It was a Council, we must suppose, of the province of Upper Italy, of which Milan was the metropolis, meeting at Turin, for the convenience of the bishops of Gaul. The first Canon tells us that Proculus claimed to ordain the bishops of Narbonensis Secunda, but that his right was denied by some of the bishops of that province. The Council decides that Proculus shall retain the right for his lifetime, though it was somewhat irregular that a city outside the province should act as its metropolis. This is the privilege of which Zosimus complains.

The second Canon decides that, of the Bishops of Arles and Vienne, who contended for the primacy of Viennensis, the one who could prove his city to be the metropolis should gain his cause; in other words, the Council was unable to decide. But they added to the Canon the suggestion of a compromise: for the sake of peace let each be satisfied to

* The text will be found in Mansi iii., p. 859, and in the other collections of the Councils. M. Babut gives a text from the MSS., p. 223.

† P. 17.

consecrate the bishops of the cities which are nearest to him ; that is to say, as it cannot be discovered which is the capital, let the two bishops agree to divide the province.

M. Babut believes that on receipt of the first letter of Zosimus, the Gallic bishops, thinking remonstrance useless, and indignant at his usurpation of authority, had betaken themselves to the province of Milan, and had proceeded to settle the matter without reference to Rome. It is remarkable on this view that the Bishop of Arles seems to have been present to defend his own cause, a most unlikely proceeding on his part, and that he ventured to claim no more than the right of metropolitan in Narbonensis Secunda, a moderation less likely still. It is strange, again, that the metropolitan of Narbonensis Prima, Hilarius, Bishop of Narbonne, should not have come to make his protest against the usurpation of Patroclus. M. Babut replies that he was frightened. Zosimus in an extant letter (*Ep.* 6), acknowledges the receipt of a letter from Hilarius, begging that his rights should not be tampered with, and rebukes the bishop severely for his presumption in thus forgetting the reverence due to St. Trophimus. Unfortunately for M. Babut, this letter is dated September 26th, 27th, or 29th (the day varies slightly in the MSS., iii., v., or vi., Kal. Oct.) He would have done well to date it earlier, in order to persuade himself that Hilarius was too much cowed by the Pope's concluding threat of excommunication, to attend the Council !

It is surely obvious, however, that the Council does not bear any traces of an opposition to the privileges granted by the Pope to Patroclus. Not only does the Bishop of Arles make no claim to Narbonenses Prima and Secunda, but it is not he who makes objections to the right of Proculus to consecrate, for this is done by some of the bishops of Narbonensis Secunda. Nor is there any reference to the most galling prerogative conceded to Arles, viz., the right of giving *formatae* to all bishops and clerics who should journey from Gaul to Rome. Still less is there any reference of the subtlest kind to any Roman decision to be reversed.

One single argument remains to M. Babut. Pope

Zosimus writes that the usurpation of Proculus must be nipped in the bud.* This, he says, could not well apply to the decision of a Council which met about 401-5, the common date given. I reply, simply, that Zosimus no doubt regarded the pretensions of Proculus as beginning from that date, and he considers ten to sixteen years as a short time in comparison with the prescriptive right of Arles, enjoyed since the days of St. Trophimus, whom Patroclus probably identified with St. Paul's companion of that name.

But there are other arguments against M. Babut's view. Zosimus speaks in *Ep. v.*, of the "*emendicata obreptio*" of Proculus at the Council, that is, "the surreptitious privilege which he obtained by indecent begging." M. Babut, who finds it necessary to hold that the Council had not been opened when news was sent to Zosimus of its intentions, is obliged to translate *emendicata* by "*Il a supplié bassement.*" But *emendicare* does not mean "to beg,"—that would be *mendicare*,—it means "to obtain by begging," and it is quite clear, that, when Zosimus wrote, Proculus had obtained from the Council the privilege which he demanded. The correct translation of a single word is thus sufficient to overthrow M. Babut's entire theory. Again, the sixth Canon is concerned with the restoration to communion of those Gallican bishops who communicated with Felix of Trèves, "according to the letters brought long since from Bishop Ambrose of blessed memory, and from the bishop of the Roman Church." (M. Babut accepts the suggestion to read, "those who do not communicate with Felix.") Felix was a holy man, who had been made bishop by the bishops who assembled at Trèves, in 385, to condemn the

* *Indecens ausus, et in ipso vestibulo resecandus* hoc ab episcopis ob certas causas concilium agitantibus extorquere . . ." M. Babut (p. 15), argues that "*ausus . . . extorquere*" merely means that Proculus had "the daring to wish to extort," "*l'audace de vouloir arracher.*" But the Latin plainly means: "Indecent daring, to extort from the bishops," and naturally implies the success of the attempt, which Zosimus could not yet have known.

M. Babut again argues (p. 15) that the complaint of Zosimus that Proculus and Simplicius have insulted the Holy See ("*in apostolicae sedis iniuriam . . . huic sedi videretur intulisse convicium,*") implies a previous decree by Zosimus in favour of Arles. But it is obvious, from his own words, that the Pope is referring simply to the supposed original grant to St. Trophimus by Rome: "*quod contra statuta patrum et sancti Trophimi reverentiam, qui primus metropolitanus Arelatensis civitatis ex hac sede directus est, concedere vel mutare ne huius quidem sedis possit auctoritas.*"

unfortunate Priscillian. A large party, though admitting that Priscillian was a heresiarch, looked upon them as murderers, and therefore refused to communicate with Felix. The expression "qui Felici [non] communicant," seems to imply that Felix is still alive. In any case, it can hardly be possible that the schism between the bishops of Gaul on this subject should still have existed so late as 417, thirty-two years after the ordination of Felix.*

But the palmary argument is this: apart from its letter, we have no knowledge of the Council, except what we glean from the letters of Zosimus. In his letter of September 21st, to Aurelius of Carthage, and the African bishops, he says, in the course of his vituperation of Heros and Lazarus (*Ep.* 3):

"It is an old custom of Lazarus to accuse innocence. By many Councils he has been found a diabolical accuser of holy Britius, our fellow-bishop of the city of Tours. By Proculus, of Marseilles, he was condemned a calumniator in the Synod of the town of Turin. By the same Proculus, he is made bishop many years later of the city of Aix. . . ."

M. Babut calmly declares this to have been a different Synod of Turin. In that case it is a Council of which we have no other record, except in Zosimus's letter of the 22nd of September (*Ep.* 4):

"But Lazarus, long since condemned as a calumniator in the Council of Turin by the sentence of most grave bishops," etc.

Surely it is somewhat rash to explain of two different Councils of Turin, the three references made by Pope Zosimus in the course of a single week. It would need very strong arguments to force us to distinguish the Council in which Lazarus was condemned by Proculus (according to the information probably supplied to the Pope by

* Another argument: the 3rd Canon is concerning certain bishops, Octavius, Ursio, Remigius, and Triferius. M. Babut notes (p. 231) that three Bishops named Remigius, Octavius, and Triferius were present at the Council of Nismes, in 396, without drawing the obvious conclusion that the Council of Turin must be placed somewhere near that date, and not twenty-one years afterwards! Remigius, however, may have been still alive in 417, if he is the same bishop as the Remigius to whom Zosimus wrote on the 3rd of October, 417, telling him to repel the encroachments of Proculus upon his diocese. The letter was first published by Dr. Maassen, and is reproduced from his *Quellen* (vol. 1., p. 955), by Duchesne (*Fastes*, vol. 1., p. 99, note), from whom I cite the reference.

Patroclus), from the Council in which Proculus was confirmed for life in the office of metropolitan.

On the 26th or 29th, Zosimus wrote to Patroclus (*Ep.* 7), saying that this bishop had been present at the trial of the absent Proculus, and was aware of the decision. He is to consider himself as metropolitan, having the authority of the Holy See, and to see that the rule as to *formatae* is punctually observed.

Another letter of the Pope, dated October 1st, to Simplicius, Bishop of Vienne, is commonly regarded as spurious. I have long been inclined to consider it genuine,* and M. Babut gives elaborate reasons for its authenticity. It runs thus :†

“Zosimus, Bishop, to Simplicius [Arch] Bishop of Vienne, greeting :

“It has been made known to us in what way you urged the cause of your diocese in the Synod of Turin. And though before your messenger arrived we wrote to the Bishop of Arles that he should have Pontifical rights over three provinces, yet, if your letter is correct, we permit you to retain your old authority, until the matter is more perfectly threshed out, so that, according to the decree of most grave bishops in the Council of Turin for the sake of peace, you should retain the nearer cities of your province, until our Apostolic charity shall follow up the matter more fully. Know that Lazarus, the accuser of his brother, unjustly ordained bishop, is condemned by our authority. —1st October, 417.”

Here M. Babut might have observed that the Council of Turin is spoken of (“in Taurinensi gravissimorum episcoporum synodo,”) in the same terms as in the letter of September 22nd, “in Taurinensi concilio gravissimorum episcoporum sententiis.” It is surely absurd to contend that two different Councils are intended. The mention of Lazarus as the “accuser of his brother,” St. Britius of Tours,

*The rest of the letters we have dealt with are preserved in a single collection, that of Arles, which has retained only those which were in favour of that city. The letter to Simplicius alone appears elsewhere, in the Vienne collection, wherein it is in company with a set of forged documents. But these are more favourable to Vienne, and are attributed to earlier Popes. It seems to me probable, *salvo meliore iudicio*, that in this case a genuine document has been preserved, being probably the only one of this period which was favourable to Vienne.

†In Coustant's Appendix to vol. 1. Migne, vol. 20, p. 704. Not given by Mansi.

is also in close connection with the mention of the Council. The Pope assumes that Simplicius, who had been present at the Council many years before, would know to what he refers.

The extraordinary change of mind shown in this letter can hardly be urged against its authenticity. The preceding letter to Patroclus seems to have been given to that bishop to take with him to Gaul. He thus departed about September 26th or 29th. On the 30th (or earlier), the messenger of Simplicius arrived. The threatening letter of the 26th to Hilary of Narbonne had evidently been suggested by Patroclus before his departure. Hilary had no Council on which to rest his claims, and was thus easier to deal with. But Patroclus being gone, the account of the Synod of Turin sent by Simplicius showed that it had there been found impossible to decide between Simplicius and the then Bishop of Arles as would-be metropolitans of Viennensis, and Zosimus is only able to confirm the compromise then arranged, until he can look further into the matter, that is, until he can hear what reply Patroclus has to give.

What came of Simplicius's protest we do not know. We have only two more letters of Zosimus (*Epp.* 10 and 11), both of them written on March 5th, the one to Patroclus,* the other to the clergy and people of Marseilles, in both cases against the aged Bishop Proculus, who had paid no attention to the deposition pronounced by the Pope, and had even consecrated a bishop in Narbonensis Secunda. No doubt Proculus had continued to protest and urge his case at Rome, but it is unlikely that the Pope would have listened to any appeal, or that Patroclus would have furnished him with a passport. It may have been even his duty, under the circumstances, to supply a vacant see with a bishop, rather than leave this to the venal intruder Patroclus, whom he, of course, did not look upon as rightful bishop of Arles at all, still less as his metropolitan.

* This letter, *Quid de Proculi*, to Patroclus is awkward for M. Babut, who is forced to date it later—about November, in spite of the MSS. (pp. 18-22). His only reason is that "it clearly supposes the decisions of the Council of Turin to be known," and that his whole theory must be renounced if the date of the letter be admitted!

"Perhaps he might have done well to show a little more deference to the Apostolic See," suggests Mgr. Duchesne, and the passage is quoted with delight by Father Puller, who, like M. Babut, wishes to make Proculus appear as a patriotic Gallican, standing up for the rights of national churches against the tyranny of Rome. That in the present case the Pope was ill-informed, hasty, and violent no one is likely to deny, but there is absolutely no trace of any opposition being shown him on any ground but that of simple justice. Any notion of resistance on "Gallican" grounds is imported into the history by the prejudice of historians.

We know no more about the fate of Proculus. As Zosimus died in December, 418, it is very likely that the old man remained in possession of his See. He was well known in Gaul as the friend of the promoters of religious life, St. Martin's disciples, and St. Honoratus of Lerins, and Cassian. St. Jerome recommended him in 411 to Rusticus as a director who would lead his soul to the heights of sanctity.*

Six months after the death of Zosimus the new Pope, Boniface, writes "to Patroclus, Remigius, Maximus, Hilarius (ten other names), and the bishops of Gaul, ordering them to hold a Synod on November 1st, to enquire into the case of Bishop Maximus of Valence, whom his diocesans had accused at Rome, on the ground that he refused to appear before the local ecclesiastical tribunal of his comprovincials. The Pope orders him to be cited once more, as a last chance. St. Boniface is here upholding the rights of the local bishops against the people of Valence, who had appealed to him. Patroclus is mentioned first, and the name of Simplicius does not occur. But Hilarius of Narbonne is certainly mentioned as a metropolitan.

Three years later, February 9th, 422, we find Boniface writing to Hilary of Narbonne, rebuking him for not having prevented Patroclus from ordaining a bishop for Lutuba, a place in Hilary's own province of Narbonensis Prima. It

* *Ep. ad Rusticum*, 125, 20. He can hardly have survived long, and is unlikely to be the Proculus mentioned in the affair of Leporius, 427-8.

is certain, therefore, that the privileges granted by Zosimus to Patroclus had been rescinded. In the year 426, retribution overtook the wicked Bishop of Arles. He died at the hands of a barbarian tribune, pierced with many wounds.*

The next Pope, St. Celestine, addressed, in 428, a decretal to the bishops of the provinces of Viennensis and the Narbonenses. Among various rules which the Pope enforces, he renews the reminder that each province is to have its own metropolitan, referring back to the letter of Boniface to Hilary of Narbonne.

Though Arles never regained the whole of the primacy claimed by Patroclus, we find St. Hilary of Arles exercising a wide jurisdiction, until St. Leo lopped off the whole. To his successor Ravennius, St. Leo restored simply the half-province of Viennensis, but the next Pope Hilarus gave larger powers to Leontius, the following bishop. After this, it is difficult to trace the varying powers of the metropolitans of Arles.

We need not follow M. Babut into his disquisition on the famous quarrel between St. Hilary and the great Pope. To him the decree of Valentinian III., which enforced the Pope's decision against the rebellious Saint, was the final victory of Rome against the struggles of the Gallicans. There is no evidence of any struggle, as we have seen. The first Gallican who appears to contest the Pope's competence as a judge is St. Hilary himself, and the real nature of his protest would take too long to consider here. It is unfortunate for M. Babut that he has taken too seriously the writings of certain Germans, such as the "Old Catholic" Langen, who have tried to minimise the Papal authority before St. Leo, in order to make of him "the first Pope." The action of Zosimus is to M. Babut an important step in the history of the usurpation: "Neither the high canonical authority, nor the primacy of honour, which the churches had until then recognised in the Pope, nor the positive rights of jurisdiction which the emperors had conferred upon him, could authorise him to accomplish the act of authority which Patroclus desired from him."

* St. Prosper, *Chron. an.*, 426, P.L. 51, p. 594 (743).

Surely such a statement is entirely unjustified by history. Zosimus bases his decision upon the rights formerly conferred by the Holy See upon Trophimus, the first Apostle of the country, and we have heard him assert that not the Apostolic See itself could revoke these privileges once given.* To contrast such a claim on the part of Zosimus as an excess, with the "moderate" action of his predecessors is only possible to gross carelessness or prejudice. The claims made, and the acts of jurisdiction performed by Siricius, Anastasius, Innocent and (so far as we know them) by their predecessors since Constantine, do not permit us, to trace any remarkable development of authority.† That there must have been some development is clear, but careful study has not lead me to believe that it was a development sufficiently marked for us to trace. The reason appears to me to be simply that the powers exercised by the Popes in the third century were far greater than is commonly imagined. Our information with regard to the first half of that century is very meagre, and in the second half the darkness is broken only by a single luminous fact: the decree of the heathen Emperor Aurelian, assigning the possession of the Patriarchal Palace at Antioch to those with whom the bishops of Italy and Rome should communicate, thus making the Pope, with his Italian Council, arbiter in the case of Paul of Samosata.‡ What the Popes did during those fifty years we can guess from suggestive facts in the earlier part of the century. For instance, the author of the *Refutation of all Heresies*, commonly supposed to be Hippolytus, writes about 220-30 that, "under Callistus, bishops and priests and deacons, who had been married twice or even thrice, began to be appointed to the clergy; and if any of the clergy should marry, he remained in the clergy as one who had not sinned" (ix., 12), naturally after putting away his wife—the clergy were not admitted

* "Cet acte inoui de domination," is M. Babut's name for this act (p. 54). "Rome octroyait beaucoup à Arles; elle s'arrogeait davantage" (p. 74). I note that M. Babut (p. 75, note) is unaware that Friedrich's pamphlet on the Council of Sardica has been summarily dealt with by Mr. C. H. Turner (in the *Journal of Theol. Studies*), whose knowledge of the MSS. of Councils is unrivalled since the death of Maassen.

† M. Babut attempts to show a development from Damasus, pp. 78 foll.

‡ Eusebius, H. E., vii., 30.

to public penance, which would have been a scandal. It is clear, as Harnack points out, that Pope Callistus is made answerable for not enforcing the Canons, even in the case of bishops. Perhaps it is even implied that he altered them, or dispensed from their observance. This suggests a world-wide correspondence, like that of the Popes from Siricius onwards, whose decretals have been preserved, or like that of St. Damasus, the predecessor of Siricius, as testified to by St. Jerome, a correspondence which called the attention of bishops or provinces to neglected Canons, or enforced them, or which replied to questions or appeals. When Novatian made himself anti-pope, he instantly deposed and instituted bishops throughout the world. He can only have been performing hastily and wholesale the same kind of acts which lawful Popes had the habit of performing from time to time after due deliberation. It is not necessary to pursue the subject further. To me it seems that the evolution from Victor, about 200, to Leo in 450, is not nearly so great as the change in external circumstances would have led us to expect. However this may be, it is at least quite certain that the evolution from Innocent in 417 to Leo is not what M. Babut has represented it.

The main contention of his book is a failure, yet his industry has collected much information which will be useful to experts. His logic is continually at fault, but it would be a thankless task to follow him page by page in his fruitless suppositions. It would appear that he is a young man. If his labours are joined to more caution in the future, it is to be hoped that he will produce useful works.

JOHN CHAPMAN, O.S.B.

ART. IX.—THE NINTH GĀTHĀ OF THE AVESTA.

“The highest religious result to which human reason, unaided by revelation, can attain.”

SUCH an estimate of the Zoroastrian religion of the Parsis, from the pen of a keen Jesuit theologian and an experienced writer,* is high praise indeed, and will probably startle many a European reader. It is, none the less, if I may venture an opinion, true and well deserved.

In a preceding article† I have given a specimen of the highly spiritual and devotional character of the most ancient part of the sacred book of this Eastern faith, the *Gāthās*, hymns or psalms—which claim to date from the reformer Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) himself—in the form of a free metrical rendering of the first of these very difficult compositions. When I say “difficult”—referring to the obscurity of the language, as well as to that of the sequence of thoughts and ideas—I feel bound to admit that our own Book of Psalms is in many parts no less hard of comprehension. Every priest, saying his daily office, constantly realises the obscurity—in some cases approaching to unintelligibility—of many psalms, even familiar ones. No wonder, then, that European scholars find the *Gāthās* so great a crux, and that translators differ so very widely as they do—to take extreme instances, as Mills and Darmesteter.

There is another point in which the *Gāthās* resemble the Psalms: I mean in the great variety of their subjects—now devotional, now didactic, now supplicatory; at one

* *Bombay Catholic Examiner*, March 28th, 1903.

† “The First *Gāthā* of the Avesta,” DUBLIN REVIEW, October, 1903.

time full of lamentation and complaint, at another defiant and militant. Of the first kind, the highly spiritual and devotional, I gave a specimen in my preceding article. The one now presented has an interest all its own : it raises those great fundamental questions, partly cosmogonical, partly ethical, which in all ages are ever forcing themselves upon the minds and consciences of thinking men, and are at the bottom of all religions. It is the prayer to the Supreme Deity of the anxious soul, the soul in doubt and perplexity. As such it has a special character, so markedly indicated by the recurrence—

“ Like a burden or refrain ”—

of the touching petition that opens every stanza :

Tat thwā peresā : eresh mōi vaocā, Ahurā ;

which I have literally rendered :

“ This thing I ask thee, Ahura : tell me true ! ”*

As before, I have preferred to *translate*, for reasons then given, the names of the Ameshaspentas, or archangels—the genii of the personified divine attributes,† of which four appear in the present piece : Good-Mind (Vohū Manah), Holiness (Asha), Piety (Armaiti),‡ and Power (Khshathra Vairya).

This ninth Gāthā, which forms the 44th chapter of the *Yasna*, is, I suppose, the one referred to in the just published *Life and Letters of Professor Cowell*,§ where Cowell, writing to his niece, says of “ an oracular piece—dark as the darkest oracle ”:

“ It comes in the 44th Gatha, the very oldest part of the Zend Avesta, and so is supposed to be the production of Zoroaster himself. It is a very hard verse, and part of it is much fought over by Zendists, like Patroclus' body by Greeks and Trojans ” (p 313).

* I once more recall that the middle syllable of Ahūra is short : in the Cuneiform inscriptions it is written *Aura*.

† For the latest contribution to the study of these remarkable spirits of the Zoroastrian faith, see Louis H. Gray. “ The Double Nature of the Iranian Archangels,” in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, Bd. VII., pp. 345-372 (Leipzig, 1904).

‡ Or Wisdom (Plutarch, *θεὸς σοφίας* ; Gray, “ Concord ”). A female spirit.

§ By George Cowell (Macmillan, 1904).

As indicated in stanzas 11, 12 and 13, primitive Zoroastrianism made no pretence at religious toleration ; whilst stanza 6 once more suggests the social side of the great Reform.

It is, of course, quite obvious that the answer to all the interrogatives "Who?" throughout the hymn can be none other than the Ahura Mazda, the Supreme Lord and Creator Himself.

We cannot fail to be reminded by these queries of those in the Book of Job (c. xxxviii.).*

I.

This thing I ask Thee, Ahura : tell me true !
That, as I bend adoring, Thou so great
Wouldst teach my littleness, Lord, as a friend,
And give through Holiness Thy friendly help,
That he, with the Good-Mind, to us may come.

II.

This thing I ask Thee, Ahura : tell me true !
How first began this glorious world of Thine ?
How him to bless who these things seeks ? For He
All men by Holiness 'gainst ill protects—
O Spirit Mazda, friend to both the Worlds !

III.

This thing I ask Thee, Ahura : tell me true !
Who the first Sire and Father of Holiness ?
Who first to sun and stars their pathway gave ?
Who first ordained the moon to wax and wane ?
This and much else from Thee I long to know.

IV.

This thing I ask Thee, Ahura : tell me true !
Who doth sustain the earth below, and hold
The firmament from fall ? Who trees and streams
Creates ? Who swiftness yoked to winds and clouds ?
Who, Mazda, is Creator of Good-Mind ?

* In the revived Mazdeism, or neo-Zoroastrianism, to coin a name, of the modern Parsis of Bombay, the study and use of the Gāthās play an important part. There has lately been formed a Gāthā Society "to study the holy Gāthās ; for (a) they are the sacred writings directly ascribed to the Holy Founder of the Zoroastrian Faith ; (b) they embody the most profound religious truths, and therefore demand careful and devoted study ; (c) they conform to the most advanced thought" (Circular). The first publication of the Society is a little tract, "The Spirit of the Gāthās," very interestingly written.

V.

This thing I ask Thee, Ahura : tell me true !
 Who made the wonder-working light and dark ?
 Who wonder-working sleep and waking made ?
 Who bade that dawn and noon and night should be
 The useful monitors of watchful men ?

VI.

This thing I ask Thee, Ahura : tell me true !
 That I may teach if these things be in sooth :—
 Doth Piety by deeds feed Holiness ?
 And hast thou kingship promised by Good-Mind
 To those for whom thou mad'st the bounteous kine ?*

VII.

This thing I ask Thee, Ahura : tell me true !
 Who lofty Piety first made and Power ?
 Who made in Wisdom son to father dear ?
 Lo ! these things would I ask, O Mazda, of Thee,
 O Thou most bounteous Spirit, All-Creator !

VIII.

This thing I ask Thee, Ahura : tell me true !
 That I may ponder what Thy doctrines be ;
 What things were asked ; what Good-Mind spake,
 and what
 Spake Holiness this world to perfect make.
 How can I good advance ? That let me reach !

IX.

This thing I ask Thee, Ahura : tell me true !
 How may I sanctify the Holy Law,
 Taught by the Lord All-wise of Sovereign Power ?
 O Mazda ! by Thy sovereign justice, Thou
 With Good-Mind soon shalt dwell and Holiness.

X.

This thing I ask Thee, Ahura : tell me true !
 Thy Law, the best of all, the which through me
 May both worlds prosper, and by Holiness
 And words and deeds of Piety make grow
 All justice. Mazda, be Thy will mine aim.†

* i.e., Dost Thou really promise supremacy to the people who practise agriculture (as opposed to the nomad races) ?

† With these stanzas (9, 10) we may compare Psalm cxviii.

XI.

This thing I ask Thee, Ahura : tell me true !
How Piety may penetrate to them
To whom, O Lord, Thy Law shall be revealed ?
Lo ! I the first to them made known by Thee :
All others I behold with hate of soul.*

XII.

This thing I ask Thee, Ahura : tell me true !
Who is the just, and who the wicked man ?
To whom the Evil One inclines ? Nay, he's
Himself the Evil One who me resists
And Thy grace too ; for evil is his mind.

XIII.

This thing I ask Thee, Ahura : tell me true !
How may we drive the foul Fiend from this place
Unto those souls with disobedience filled,
Who neither will with Holiness rejoice,
Nor love to learn the questions of Good-Mind ?

XIV.

This thing I ask Thee, Ahura : tell me true !
How unto Holiness the Fiend bring bound,
That by Thy doctrines he may crush his head
And 'mid the wicked spread destruction wide ?
These anxious doubts, O Mazda ! would I solve !

✠ L. C. CASARTELLI.

* Evidently rival preachers, or preachers of hostile sects.

Roman Decrees.

THE following is an important Decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Council on the subject of the celebration of "Manual" Masses.

Ex S. Congregatione Concilii.

DECRETUM de observandis et evitandis in missarum manualium satisfactione.

Ut debita sollicitudine missarum manualium celebratio impleatur, eleemosynarum dispersiones et assumptarum obligationum obliviones vitentur, plura etiam novissimo tempore S. Concilii Congregatio constituit. Sed in tanta nostrae aetatis rerum ac fortunarum mobilitate et crescente hominum malitia, experientia docuit cautelas vel maiores esse adhibendas, ut pia fidelium voluntates non fraudentur, resque inter omnes gravissima studiose ac sancte custodiatur. Qua de causa Emi. S. C. Patres semel et iterum collatis consiliis, nonnulla statuenda censuerunt, quae SSmus. D. N. Pius PP. X. accurate perpendit, probavit, vulgarique iussit, prout sequitur.

Declarat in primis Sacra Congregatio manuales missas praesenti decreto intelligi et haberi eas omnes quas fideles oblata manuali stipe celebrari postulant, cuilibet vel quomodocumque sive brevi manu, sive in testamentis, hanc stipem tradant, dummodo perpetuam foundationem non constituent, vel talem ac tam diuturnam ut tamquam perpetua haberi debeat.

Pariter inter manuales missas accenseri illas, quae privatae alicuius familiae patrimonium gravant quidem in perpetuum, sed in nulla Ecclesia sunt constitutae, quibus missis ubivis a quibuslibet sacerdotibus, patrisfamilias arbitrio, satisfieri potest.

Ad instar manualium vero esse, quae in aliqua ecclesia constitutae, vel beneficiis adnexae, a proprio beneficiario vel in propria ecclesia hac illave de causa applicari non possunt; et ideo aut de iure aut cum S. Sedis indulto, aliis sacerdotibus tradi debent ut iisdem satisfiat.

Iamvero de his omnibus S. C. decernit: (1) neminem posse plus missarum quaerere et accipere quam celebrare probabiliter valeat intra temporis terminos inferius statutos, et per se ipsum, vel per sacerdotes sibi subditos, si agatur de Ordinario dioecetano, aut Praelato regulari.

(2) Utile tempus ad manualium missarum obligationes implendas esse mensem pro missa una, semestre pro centum missis, et aliud longius vel brevius temporis spatium plus minusve, iuxta maiorem vel minorem numerum missarum.

(3) Nemini licere tot missas assumere quibus intra annum a die susceptae obligationis satisfacere probabiliter ipse nequeat; salva tamen semper contraria offerentium voluntate, qui aut brevius tempus pro missarum celebratione sive explicite sive implicite ob urgentem aliquam causam deponcant, aut longius tempus concedant, aut maiorem missarum numerum sponte sua tribuant.

(4) Cum in decreto *Vigilanti* diei 25 mensis Maii 1893 statutum fuerit "ut in posterum omnes et singuli ubique locorum beneficiati et administratores piarum causarum, aut utcumque ad missarum onera implenda obligati, sive ecclesiastici sive laici, in fine cuiuslibet anni missarum onera, quae reliqua sunt, et quibus nondum satisfecerint, propriis Ordinariis tradant iuxta modum ab iis definiendum"; ad tollendas ambiguitates Emi. Patres declarant ac statuunt, tempus his verbis praefinitum ita esse accipiendum, ut pro missis fundatis aut alicui beneficio adnexis obligatio eas deponendi decurrat a fine illius anni intra quem onera impleri debuissent: pro missis vero manualibus obligatio eas deponendi incipiat post annum a die suscepti oneris, si agatur de magno missarum numero; salvis praescriptionibus praecedentis articuli pro minori missarum numero, aut diversa voluntate offerentium.

Super integra autem et perfecta observantia praescriptionum quae tum in hoc articulo, tum in praecedentibus statutae sunt, omnium ad quos spectat conscientia graviter oneratur.

(5) Qui exuberantem missarum numerum habent, de quibus sibi liceat libere disponere (quin fundatorum vel oblatores voluntati quoad tempus et locum celebrationis missarum detra-

hatur), posse eas tribuere praeterquam proprio Ordinario aut S. Sedi, sacerdotibus quoque sibi benevixis, dummodo certe ac personaliter sibi notis et omni exceptione maioribus.

(6) Qui missas cum sua eleemosyna proprio Ordinario aut S. Sedi tradiderint ab omni obligatione coram Deo et Ecclesia relevari.

Qui vero missas a fidelibus susceptas, aut utcumque suae fidei commissas, aliis celebrandas tradiderint, obligatione teneri usque dum peractae celebrationis fidem non sint assequuti; adeo ut si ex eleemosynae dispersione, ex morte sacerdotis, aut ex alia qualibet etiam fortuita causa in irritum res cesserit, committens de suo supplere debeat, et missis satisfacere teneatur.

(7) Ordinarii dioecesani missas, quas ex praecedentium articulorum dispositione coacervabunt, statim ex ordine in librum cum respectiva eleemosyna referent, et curabunt pro viribus ut quamprimum celebrentur, ita tamen ut prius manualibus satisfiat, deinde iis quae ad instar manualium sunt. In distributione autem servabunt regulam discreti *Vigilanti*, scilicet "missarum intentiones primum distribuent inter sacerdotes sibi subiectos, qui eis indigere noverint; alias deinde aut S. Sedi, aut aliis Ordinariis committent, aut etiam, si velint, sacerdotibus extra-dioecesanis dummodo sibi noti sint omnique exceptione maiores," firma semper regula art. 6 de obligatione, donec a sacerdotibus actae celebrationis fidem exegerint.

(8) Vetitum cuique omnino esse missarum obligationes et ipsarum eleemosynas a fidelibus vel locis piis acceptas tradere bibliopolis et mercatoribus, diariorum et ephemeridum administratoribus, etiamsi religiosi viri sint, nec non venditoribus sacrorum utensilium et indumentorum, quamvis pia et religiosa instituta, et generatim quibuslibet, etiam ecclesiasticis viris, qui missas requirant, non taxative ut eas celebrent sive per se sive per sacerdotes sibi subditos, sed ob alium quemlibet, quamvis optimum, finem. Constitit enim id effici non posse nisi aliquod commercii genus cum eleemosynis missarum agendo, aut eleemosynas ipsas imminuendo: quod utrumque omnino praecaveri debere S. Congregatio censuit. Quapropter in posterum quilibet hanc legem violare praesumpserit aut scienter tradendo missas ut supra, aut eas acceptando, praeter grave peccatum quod patrabit, in poenas infra statutas incurret.

(9) Iuxta ea quae in superiore articulo constituta sunt determinitur, pro missis manualibus stipem a fidelibus assignatam,

et pro missis fundatis aut alicui beneficio adnexis (quae ad instar manualium celebrantur) eleemosynam iuxta sequentes articulos propriam, numquam separari posse a missae celebratione, *neque in alias res commutari aut imminui*, sed celebranti ex integro et in specie sua esse tradendam, sublatis declarationibus, indultis, privilegiis, rescriptis sive perpetuis sive ad tempus, ubivis, quovis titulo, forma vel a qualibet auctoritate concessis et huic legi contrariis.

(10) Ideoque libros, sacra utensilia vel quaslibet alias res vendere aut emere, et associationes (uti vocant) cum diariis et ephemeridibus inire ope missarum, nefas esse atque omnino prohiberi. Hoc autem valere non modo si agatur de missis celebrandis, sed etiam si de celebratis, quoties id in usum et habitudinem cedat et in subsidium alicuius commercii vergat.

(11) Item sine nova et speciali S. Sedis venia, (quae non dabitur nisi ante constiterit de vera necessitate, et cum debitis et opportunis cautelis), ex eleemosynis missarum, quas fideles celebrioribus Sanctuariis tradere solent, non licere quidquam detrudere ut ipsorum decori et ornameto consulatur.

(12) Qui autem statuta in praecedentibus articulis 8, 9, 10 et 11, quomodolibet aut quovis praetextu perfringere ausus fuerit, si ex ordine sacerdotali sit, suspensioni *a divinis* S. Sedi reservatae et ipso facto incurrendae obnoxius erit; si clericus sacerdotio nondum initiatus, suspensioni a susceptis ordinibus pariter subiacebit, et insuper inhabilis fiet ad superiores ordines assequendos; si vero laicus, excommunicatione latae sententiae Episcopo reservata obstringetur.

(13) Et cum in const. *Apostolicae Sedis* statutum sit excommunicationem latae sententiae Summo Pontifici reservatae subiaccere "colligentes eleemosynas maioris pretii pro missis, et ex iis lucrum captantes, faciendo eas celebrare in locis ubi missarum stipendia minoris pretii esse solent" S. C. declarat, huic legi et sanctioni per praesens decretum nihil esse detractum.

(14) Attamen ne subita innovatio piis aliquibus causis et religiosis publicationibus noxia sit, indulgetur ut associationes ope missarum iam initae usque ad exitum anni a quo institutae sunt protrahantur. Itemque conceditur ut indulta reductionis eleemosynae missarum, quae in beneficium Sanctuariorum aliarumve piarum causarum aliquibus concessa reperiuntur, usque ad currentis anni exitum vigeant.

(15) Denique quod spectat missas beneficiis adnexas, quoties aliis sacerdotibus celebrandae traduntur, Eminentissimi Patres

declarant ac statuunt, eleemosynam non aliam esse debere quam synodalem loci in quo beneficia erecta sunt.

Pro missis vero in paroeciis aliisque ecclesiis fundatis eleemosynam, quae tribuitur, non aliam esse debere quam quae in fundatione vel in successivo reductionis indulto reperitur in perpetuum taxata, salvis tamen semper iuribus, si quae sint, legitime recognitis sive pro fabricis ecclesiarum, sive pro earum rectoribus, iuxta declarationes a S. C. exhibitas in *Monacen.* 25 Iulii 1874 et *Hildesien.* 21 Ianuarii 1898.

In *Monacen.* enim "attento quod eleemosynae missarum quorundam legatorum pro parte locum tenerent congruae parochialis, Emi. Patres censuerunt licitum esse parochi, si per se satisfacere non possit, eas missas alteri sacerdoti committere, attributa eleemosyna ordinaria loci sive pro missis lectis sive cantatis." Et in *Hildesien.* declaratum est, "in legatis missarum aliqua in ecclesia fundatis retineri posse favore ministrorum et ecclesiarum inservientium eam reddituum portionem quae in limine fundationis, vel alio legitimo modo, ipsis assignata fuit independenter ab opere speciali praestando pro legati adimplimento."

Denique officii singulorum Ordinariorum erit curare ut in singulis ecclesiis, praeter tabellam onerum perpetuorum et librum in quo manuales missae quae a fidelibus traduntur ex ordine cum sua eleemosyna recenseantur, insuper habeantur libri in quibus dictorum onerum et missarum satisfactio signetur.

Ipsorum pariter erit vigilare super plena et omnimoda executione praesentis decreti: quod Sanctitas Sua ab omnibus inviolabiliter servari iubet, contrariis quibuslibet minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex S. Congregatione Concilii die 11 Maii 1904.

✠ VINCENTIUS CARD. EP. PRAENESTINUS, *Praefectus.*
C. DE. LAI, *Secretarius.*

Science Notices.

The Effects of Radium Emanations on Diamonds.—Sir William Crooke's recent researches on the action of radium emanations on diamonds seem likely to extend from the laboratory into the commercial world, and in some cases to enhance the value of those costly gems.

A few years ago Sir William Crookes showed that when diamonds are exposed to the impact of radiant matter in a high vacuum, they phosphoresce in different hues and assume a dark colour, which, under the continuance of the bombardment, becomes nearly black. The time required for the discolouration varies in the case of different diamonds from a few moments to one hour. The discolouration is merely superficial and yields when the diamond is polished with diamond powder, but no ordinary means of cleaning removes it. Owing to the fact that the blackening is unaffected by ordinary oxidising reagents, it was suspected that the black layer on the diamond was graphite, and subsequent tests made by M. Moissan have shown that this supposition was correct.

Some forms of graphite dissolve in strong nitric acid, but others require a mixture of highly concentrated nitric acid and potassium chlorate, and even with this intense oxidising reagent there is a difference in the resisting power of graphite. M. Moissan has shown that the resisting power to nitric acid and potassium chlorate is in proportion to the temperature at which the graphite has been formed, and that the temperature can be estimated with reasonable accuracy by the resistance of the graphite to the reagent.

M. Moissan examined some of the blackened surfaces of Sir William Crookes' diamonds after they had been subjected to

molecular bombardment. The diamond was heated to 60° in an oxidising mixture of potassium chlorate and fuming nitric acid prepared from monohydrated sulphuric acid and potassium nitrate fused and quite free from moisture. The action on the black layer was very slow. There was produced graphitic oxide. This at an increased temperature yielded pyrographitic acid, which is easily destroyed by nitric acid. There could be no doubt that the variety of carbon coating the diamond was graphite. The transformation of diamond into graphite requires no less a temperature than that of the electric arc. The higher the temperature to which graphite is raised, the greater is its resistance to oxidation. M. Moissan considers that the temperature reached by the action of the diamond in Sir William Crookes' radiant matter tube is probably about 3600° .

Sir William Crookes has lately extended these researches by subjecting diamonds to the action of B rays from radium. These have like properties to the cathode stream in a radiant matter tube. For these researches two Bingara diamonds, weighing respectively 0.960 and 1.000 grains, of the same size and of the very pale yellow colour known as "off colour," were selected. For the purpose of distinction these diamonds were called A and B. Diamond A was shut up in a drawer far away from radium or any other radio-active substance. Diamond B was kept close to a quartz tube containing about 15 milligrams of pure radium bromide, sealed in vacuo. The diamond phosphoresced brightly and glowed throughout the experiment. After a fortnight the diamonds A and B were compared, but no difference in the colour could be detected. Diamond B was then kept close to the radium tube for six weeks, and at the end of that period the two diamonds were again examined side by side, but there was no appreciable difference in the colour. It was thought that the absence of change of colour in the B diamond might have to do with the possible interference with the emanations by the quartz tube which contained the radium. This appears to have been the case, for after the experiment had been continued for 78 days, diamond A having been kept isolated from any radium influence during the period, on comparison there was seen to be a considerable difference in colour between the two. Diamond A was of its original pale yellow "off colour," and diamond B was of a dark bluish tint.

Diamond B was then heated to 50° C in a mixture of the strongest nitric acid and potassium chlorate for ten days, the

mixture being renewed each day. At the end of this time the diamond had lost its dull surface colour and was as bright and transparent as the other stone. Its tint had, however, changed from yellow to a pale blue green.

Sir William Crookes, in a paper read before the Royal Society on June 16th last, thus describes the action of the radium emanations on diamonds. "The radium emanations have therefore a double action on the diamond. The B rays (electrons) effect a superficial darkening, converting the surface into graphite in a manner similar to, but less strongly than, the more intense electrons in the kathode stream. But the alteration of the body colour of the stone by emanations, which are obstructed by the thinnest film of solid matter, even by a piece of thin paper, is not so easy to understand. A superficial action might be expected, but not one penetrating through the whole thickness of the diamond. I believe the alteration of colour is a secondary effect; in presence of radium the diamond is extremely phosphorescent, and it continues to shine during the whole time of the experiment. This constant state of vibration, in which the diamond was kept for many weeks, may have caused an internal change revealing itself in a change of colour. Indeed, it is not difficult to suppose that a chemical as well as a physical action may result. If the yellow colour is due to iron in the ferric state, a reduction to the ferrous state would quite account for the change of colour to a pale blue green. This alteration of colour may be of commercial importance. If "off colour" stones can be lightened, their value will increase, while if the prolonged action of radium is to communicate to them a decided colour, they would be worth much more as "fancy" stones."

After the ten days heating in the acid mixture diamonds A and B were put together in a glass tube and kept in proximity to one another for 25 days. They were afterwards laid on a sensitive film in the dark for 24 hours. On developing it was found that diamond B had impressed a strong image on the film, but only a very faint mark could be seen where the other diamond had been. It is thought, however, that this slight action may be due to a small degree of radio-activity induced in A during its 25 days' proximity to B.

Sir William Crookes considers that the fact that diamond B was strongly radio-active after it had been kept away from the influence of radium for 25 days, for ten of which it was being heated in a mixture strong enough to dissolve off the coating of

graphite, is proof of the complexity of the phenomenon of radio-activity. "It not merely consists in the adhesion of electrons or emanations, given off by radium to the surface of an adjacent body, but the property is one involving deep-seated layers below the surface."

Ocean Currents.—Commander D. Wilson-Barker, in his address on Ocean Meteorology, delivered before the Royal Meteorological Society in April last, though he stated there was at present great diversity of opinion as to the cause of ocean currents, gave his own convictions in a decided manner. He thinks that the primary origin of all meteorological phenomena is the difference of temperature existing at the poles and the equator, and that when once a slight initial movement is started, action and reaction set in, culminating in the general conditions universally experienced. This view is not without geological difficulties, but Commander Wilson-Barker is of opinion that these may be explained by unequal distributions of land, or change in the position of the poles. The influence which the great barometric pressure exerts on the water level has been somewhat overlooked. The actual difference of level between the centres of the high and low pressure areas is very considerable. It is conceivable that the depression of the ocean under the areas of high pressure may set up slight currents from the outside water. The motion of the earth on its axis would modify the direction of such currents. Patterson and Meinardus have demonstrated the possible connection in winter between the barometric pressure over ocean areas and the temperature of the surface waters.

It is pointed out that in their grand circulation ocean currents follow a course almost identical with that of the winds. Just as various wind systems have their local eddies we call storms, so, too, the water currents have their disturbances, which, in conjunction with the variations of speed in the main drift current, cause infinite trouble to navigation. Commander Wilson-Barker lays stress on the recent investigations of the Meteorological Office in the matter of the direction of ocean currents, and urges sailors to inform themselves of the valuable results; for to deal properly with currents navigators require accurate knowledge. It may be as disastrous to allow too much margin for their action as too little.

In the course of the address reference was made to the researches of Dr. H. N. Dickson, who has made a careful study of North Atlantic streams, having ascertained that they vary in strength from year to year. In both the Pacific and Atlantic the currents follow tracts corresponding to those followed by the winds, but in the Pacific the strength of northerly drift is much less than that of the northerly drift of the Atlantic, perhaps because the former is impeded and broken up by the islands to the north-east and north of Australia, and consequently a quantity of water is diverged into the Indian Ocean. Again the presence of monsoonal winds in this area does not permit the "blowing house" of the Trades, as is the case in the Atlantic.

Commander Wilson-Barker testifies to the value of coral reefs and their growths as forming opportunities for the study of ocean currents. It is difficult in these days of steam and varying speeds to calculate the flow of a current. The best method is, undoubtedly, the simple but sure one of throwing bottles into the sea at different points. Mr. H. C. Russell, the Government astronomer of Sydney, in the Southern Ocean, and the Prince of Monaco elsewhere, have been very successful with the bottle method. With regard to the limitations to the exploration of submarine currents Commander Wilson-Barker says: "We live on the dividing line between the hydrosphere and the atmosphere, and at present we can, to a great extent, only infer what takes place above and below us. But until we know definitely the directions in which the great bodies of water move we can never hope to attain any accurate knowledge of the laws of ocean circulation. Private enterprise is helping much round our own coasts, but what is necessary are extended, world-wide operations, and these can only be undertaken with the help of the different governments."

The New Vesuvian Railway.—The new electric railway up Vesuvius will afford greater facilities to those eager to ascend the volcanic mountain than have been hitherto available. The *Scientific American* points out that it will soon be possible to travel by electricity from Naples to within 250 yards of the crater.

The new railway is nearly $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles long, extending from Pagliano, the northern quarter of Resina, to the terminus of the old Funicular Railway, which was made up the cone to the

crater twenty-three years ago. Excepting a section in the middle it is laid with a ruling gradient of 1 in 12½. The cars run by adhesion. In the middle portion the gradient rises to 1 in 4, an incline equal to that of the Righi line. On this account it has been necessary to use a rack rail, the Strub system having been selected as on the Jungfrau railway. On this rack-rail section the cars are pushed up by a four-wheel locomotive provided with two 80 horse-power motors and well supplied with brakes. On the other sections the cars, seating twenty-four passengers, are propelled by their own motors, the current being supplied through overhead trolleys, as is also the case with the rack-line locomotives. The generating station is at the foot of Mount Cateroni.

Notes on Travel and Exploration.

Boundary of British Guiana.—The task of laying down the frontier line between British Guiana and Venezuela has just been completed, and the commissioners have returned to Georgetown from the interior. The work has been in progress since 1900, and has been carried on by four successive journeys to the different sections to be delimited, the entire length of the frontier being some 690 miles. The first expedition, lasting three and a half months, located the line between the heads of the Amacura and Akarabisi rivers, running through dense forest and along the water-sheds. The Barima river section was surveyed by the second expedition, lasting eleven months. The third, from the head waters of the Akarabisi to the mouth of the Wenamu, occupied over five months, and the fourth, from the last-named point to Mount Roraima, nine. The commissioners enjoyed good health except on the Barima section, in delimiting which they had to live entirely in the forest and undergo considerable hardships and exposure.

Manchuria under Russian Government.—Mr. Putnam Weale's valuable work (*Manchu and Muscovite*. By B. L. Putnam Weale. London: Macmillan and Co. 1904.) professes to correct, on the authority of one who has known the Far East from childhood, the extraordinary ignorance prevailing in Europe as to the conditions of Manchuria under the Russian occupation. Among the inaccuracies corrected by him are: firstly, the estimate of the population, which he believes to be nearer twenty millions than to the seven and a half

conjectured by other writers. The former figure has at least some authority, as being that given by the Japanese Staff. In the second place, he denies the details published by others as to Russian colonisation in Manchuria, which, he says, apart from camp-followers, and railway and government contractors with their purveyors, does not exist. "There are no Russians," he says, "in Manchuria or Kwantung, except the 89,000 troops scattered along the railway, 20,000 women in the three towns of Harbin, Port Arthur and Dalny, and a constantly diminishing number of male civilians in the same places. Manchuria is as purely Chinese as the Yangtse valley, and there is nothing mysterious about it." In the three provinces into which Chinese Manchuria is divided, the numbers of the inhabitants are in inverse ratio to the area. Thus Fengtien, the southern province, contains some thirteen millions; Kirin, the middle section, about five; and Hei-lung-chiang, the Black Dragon province, no more than two. Yet Fengtien is only half the size of Kirin, and Kirin bears about the same proportion to Hei-lung-chiang. The first is civilised, the second half-civilised, and the third almost uncivilised. Of the 190,000 square miles of territory comprised within the boundaries of Manchuria, seven-eighths is either waste or occupied only by nomad Mongols, while it could, if cultivated, support many millions of people, and produce enormous crops of wheat. It is, indeed, from the writer's account, one of the greatest grain-growing countries in the world, rivalling in this respect the British granary in North America. Over and over again he becomes enthusiastic over the wheat crops in the valley of the Liao, the central region, where they are rapidly displacing the more characteristic native corn, *kaoling* or tall millet. The beans and corn raised even to-day would probably support twice the present population of Manchuria, and sixty to seventy millions of people might easily live on the produce of the three provinces. The flour mills at Harbin, principally run by Jews, are among the sights of the place, and the flour is said on American authority to surpass the best ground from American winter wheat.

Manchurian Missions.—Mr. Weale gives a favourable account of all mission work in Manchuria, heading his chapter on it with the Catholic missionary work. After noting the leading part played by the Jesuit Fathers who accompanied the Chinese

Ambassadors in the negotiation of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, by which the Manchurian boundary question was settled with Russia for 130 years, he goes on to tell of the adventurous journey in which the martyred Father de la Brunière lost his life in preaching to the savages of the Lower Amur :

“ But his death made the fire of missionary zeal burn all the more brightly. Catholic missions were founded at A-shih-ho ; later on at Payenshusu and Pei-tun-lintzu, districts to the north of the Sungari, where eighty and ninety degrees of cold are registered in winter. To-day Catholics are numbered by the thousand in many parts of Manchuria, and are ever increasing.”

A Lady Traveller in Serbia and Montenegro.—A mine of information as to the conditions of life in the Western Balkan countries is contained in Miss Durham's recent book (*Through the Lands of the Serb*. By Mary E. Durham. London : Edward Arnold. 1904). Unlike most travellers, she rather eschewed the beaten track, riding on native mules or ponies over the roughest mountain tracks, and sleeping often in the crowded and dirty houses of the inhabitants. She seems to have met with unvarying kindness and hospitality, extending even to the offer to adopt her as a daughter by one family of her hosts, to say nothing of incessant proposals of marriage, one on the part of a policeman. The impression left by her pages is that the standard of material comfort or civilization is very low among these peoples, while their political aspirations are very ambitious. To the gratification of these latter Austria bars the way, since the restoration of the Serbian Empire would cut her off from the Egean. Yet there is nothing in Miss Durham's pages to show that anything but chaos could follow the withdrawal of external control. Only in Albania is the Christian population Catholic, and in Skodra or Scutari, the capital, it forms but a minority. The Christian and Mussulman quarters of the town are quite separate, the latter being the wealthier and more numerously inhabited. The Christian women wear veils in the street, and the girls are rigidly secluded until marriage. The costume of the Catholic women in Skodra is at once gorgeous and hideous. “ Their gigantic trouser-petticoats of purple-black material in multitudinous pleats, fall in an enormous bag that sticks out round the ankles, and impedes the wearer to such an extent that

she often has to hold it up with both hands in order to get along. With her face veiled, and the upper part of her body covered with a scarlet, gold-embroidered cloak with a square flap that serves as a hood, she forms an unwieldy pear-shaped lump—grotesque and gorgeous." They loosen their veils before going into church, and enter with uncovered faces—"beautiful faces, with clean-cut, slightly aquiline noses, clear ivory skins, red lips, and dark eyes with long lashes." Most of the congregation sit cross-legged on the floor after having kicked off their shoes as in a mosque. The Catholic cathedral, built about fifty years, has a large campanile, but no internal decorations for lack of funds. The sermon in Albanian was preached by a young Italian friar, whose evident fervour deeply moved his audience. But the Frati, says the author, despite their efforts, have made but little headway against the blood-feuds enforced by the social law of Albania.

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A Cruise in the Pacific.—The idea of publishing a short narrative of the commission of each ship of war in the Navy as she pays off, is the foundation of the "Log Series," published by the Westminster Press. One of the latest numbers, *The Commission of H.M.S. "Amphion"* (1900-1904), by G. C. Watson, R.M.L.I., gives an interesting history of the doings of a ship on the Pacific Station, covering a vast expanse of ocean stretching from the Arctic to the Antarctic ice. Among the little known spots visited was the Galapagos Archipelago, whither the "Amphion" was sent in the hope of picking up some of the crew of a shipwrecked vessel. Of the thirteen islands which, with some lesser islets, constitute the group, only two are inhabited, and these by convicts from Ecuador, mostly exiled for debt. The Governor, who is invested with absolute power, lives with the lessee of the principal island in a house approached only by a narrow stair with a hatch large enough to admit one man. It is thus easily defensible against a revolt, as the convicts possess no fire-arms. The more unmanageable of these are deported to the uninhabited islands, either alone or with two or three companions. Chatham Island, the most important, is the seat of government, and has 400 inhabitants. Sugar growing is its sole industry. Albemarle Island, though larger, has a population of only 150. Animal life, on the other hand, is abundant there, and it is said to contain 30,000 head of wild

cattle, as well as donkeys and boars. Here, too, flourish the gigantic tortoises from which the islands take their name. They seem to be very numerous, as eight were secured, in addition to one made a present to the captain. Animal life in general, was, however, found to have degenerated since Darwin's visit in 1835, as only ten species of land birds were found, and the largest lizard was under four feet long. On the South American mainland an interesting trip was made from Callao to Aroya by the Andean Railway of Peru. The highest point reached at present is the Tunnel del Paro de Galera, 15,665 feet above the sea level, where the Amazon is supposed to have its source. It is proposed to carry the line nearly 2,000 feet higher. The towns are described as mining camps, and numbers of llamas were met carrying bags of ore to the smelting furnaces. At Callao divers are continually at work exploring the submerged ruins of the old town, overwhelmed by an earthquake, and now forming the bed of the harbour. One diver, an Englishman, said he had been there for six years, and had gained sufficient to enable him to return to England and live on his earnings.

Rural Russia.—A gloomy picture of the impoverishment of rural Russia and its causes is given in a book now published in an English translation after having made a considerable reputation in Germany two years ago. (*Russia of To-day*. From the German of Baron E. von der Brüggen, by M. Sandwith. London: Digby, Long. 1904). It dates back to the emancipation of the serfs which found both peasants and proprietors totally unprepared for the new condition of things introduced. The latter, living in patriarchal fashion on their estates, were quite unaccustomed to the handling of large sums of money, and rapidly squandered the Redemption Bonds paid as compensation by the Government, as well as the advances made by mortgage and other banks started to assist them. "It is estimated that in this way one hundred and fifty millions were borrowed by the nobility on the security of their estates, and then for the most part squandered through carelessness, ignorance, want of understanding, incredible lack of character and childish thoughtlessness," and in some of the districts a third of the nobility have disappeared from their estates. The deterioration of the land was the ultimate consequence of rail-

way development and the consequent enhanced price of wheat. Previous to that change it had scarcely a market value, being worth no more than sixpence per bushel, and was grown only for home consumption. The surplus of good years was stored in stacks that showed discoloured beside those newly harvested, and thus some reserve was on hand for bad seasons. The approach of a railway even within sixty or seventy miles sent up the price of wheat and that of land with it. The steppe was ploughed up and now exists only beyond the Urals, its place being taken by the uninterrupted corn-fields stretching from Tula and Orel to the Black Sea, the Volga and beyond. The unexhausted soil in the proprietors' hands, which had not borne crops like the peasants', yielded harvest after harvest without manure. This continued during a score of bountiful years from 1870 to 1890, but then came a decrease in the crop and simultaneously in the price of corn in the foreign markets. The manor fields have now lost their exuberant productiveness, and yield, like the communal fields, no more than three or four fold. These particulars apply more especially to Central Russia, or the old Grand Duchy of Moscow, forming, with the district of the Volga in the East, Central Great Russia, a country of nearly a million square kilometres with twenty-five and a half millions of inhabitants. "This was the national stronghold, from which the spirit and character of the gigantic Empire received their imprint, and on the strength of which the future of Russia and the Russians depends."

Notices of Books.

Edgar ; or, from Atheism to the Full Truth. By the Rev. LOUIS VON HAMMERSTEIN, S.J. Translated from the German at the Georgetown Visitation Convent. Herder : Freiburg im Breisgau ; St. Louis, Mo. 8 by 5½ ins. Pp. xv.-355. 1903. 5s.

THE REV. JOHN A. CONWAY, S.J., who has written an excellent preface to this translation, says on page vi.: "It is in Germany that the fiercest onslaughts are made upon revealed truth by Rationalists, Materialists, Pantheists, Kantians, Hegelians, Evolutionists, etc., . . . but it is from Germany, too, that we get our best defence and our ablest expositions of Catholic doctrines. Amongst German Catholic writers Father Louis von Hammerstein has been conspicuous for years. Himself a convert to the Catholic faith, he has been strenuous in its defence, both in the books he has published and in the numerous articles he has written." Some of these books have gained a world-wide renown and spread his name far and wide as a first-class Apologist, who is up-to-date in every branch of Protestant controversy, rationalistic and materialistic trickery, atheistic and pantheistic dreaming. The titles of some of these books already published by Father von Hammerstein, such as *Memoirs of an Aged Lutheran*, *The Existence of God Demonstrated*, *Catholicity and Protestantism*, *Christendom*, *Winfried*, or *the Social Work of the Church*, etc., will speak for themselves.

In the latest English translation of his work, *Edgar ; or from Atheism to the Full Truth*, von Hammerstein gives us a new proof of his apologetic genius and enterprise. By means of conversations and letters between Edgar, a young atheist

lawyer, and Father N., the chaplain of a German hospital in England, he sets forth the chief arguments by which the objections of unbelievers may be met and overcome; and here he puts before the reader a clear, popular, and at the same time scientific *exposé* of Catholic doctrine. Nay, we should say it is a short *resumé* of the vast field of Catholic theology in its strictest sense, divided into three principal portions—(1) God (knowledge or belief; the Creator the source of all justice, duty, and highest happiness); (2) Jesus Christ (the drama of the world's history, the New Testament prophecies and their fulfilment); (3) the Catholic Church and its doctrines (authority or private interpretation, Scripture and tradition, councils and creeds, justification and good works). All objections, from whatever source they may come, are met with a clear insight into the character of the objector, and every objection is answered with kindness, frankness and firmness, because these answers are based on the infallible authority of the Church, "the pillar of Truth." No doubt many a chapter could have been made longer; but even in its shortness *Edgar* will be a weapon of defence, "and a weapon with which the Catholic can bravely walk into the enemy's camp on the offensive"; whilst to the non-Catholic and unbeliever it will be a mine of information in the large field of Catholic doctrine and Catholic practice.

The table quaintly headed, the "Graphic Representation of some of the Leading Confessions," which is to be found on the last page of the book, would, in our opinion, be more interesting and more attractive if it were accompanied by statistics, although, no doubt, such a task would be difficult to accomplish on account of the vagueness and remoteness of many of the "Confessions" mentioned in the table.

D. M. S.

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The Study of Mental Science. Popular Lectures on the Uses and Characteristics of Logic and Psychology. By J. BROUGH, LL.D. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row.* Pp. 129. 1903.

THE term "popular," as applied to these lectures, makes far too generous allowance of intelligence and information to an audience or class of readers to which the term is ordinarily applied. The lectures are popular in the sense that they are not strictly technical—the terms and formulæ of Logic

and Psychology occur but rarely—yet we are of opinion that the author's hope, expressed in his prefatory note, can be only partially realised. The apparatus of learning, scientific illustrations, allusions to systems of philosophy, and the unconscious assumptions of an intimate acquaintance with Logic and Psychology which occur throughout the lectures, limit considerably the number of hearers and readers for whom they could be of much practical utility. The author (p. 120) illustrates the psycho-physical character of the pictures of mental life by "studies with kymograph and æsthesiometer." What would a "popular" audience gather from the following (p. 44)? "If, after the way of Plato, we 'hypostasize' them (the sciences), we must throne them in an altitude of æther, while the winged ideas float around on the grosser air." "The philosophic consciousness of elements"; "the dynamic elements of thought," are expressions which are popular only in the sense that, by their very mysteriousness, they excite popular awe and admiration. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico.*

For the intelligent student of science these lectures would prove eminently useful. The mental horizon tends to become greatly narrowed by the uniform pursuit of one or other particular branch of science. Logic, as the author points out (p. 15), prevents this narrowing by first awakening and then elaborating a "sense of method" within us, by which we shall be able "to unite mere multitude into association, and to give system and intercommunication throughout the assemblage of knowledge." Psychology, or the science which teaches man the knowledge of his real self, is ably vindicated, and a position of high importance strenuously claimed for it in the scheme of education.

The author (p. 19) speaks of the youth of this latter mental science, "a youth which almost amounts to a crime"; again (p. 22), he speaks of it as "only now, if not drawing its first breath, blushing for its first independence." We presume that this apology refers only to the comparatively recent acknowledgment of psychology as forming a part of strictly scientific education. The author cannot surely mean to ignore the profound and learned studies of the philosophers of ancient Greece, of the Fathers of the Christian Church, of St. Thomas of Aquin, and of the long line of illustrious schoolmen who have written so exhaustively on the particular subject of the human soul.

There is (p. 68) a gratuitous and unwarranted assumption of an

historical parallel between the scientific discovery of Copernicus and the philosophic theorising of Kant; as though the world accepted and accepts as facts, and with equal conviction, that the earth revolves and not the sun and stars; and that the objective world conforms to the laws of human intelligence, not the intelligence to the objective world. The author appears to approve of a statement made by Locke, whom he calls the founder of modern psychology, viz., the operations of our minds, "though they pass there continually, yet like floating visions, they make not deep impressions enough to leave in the mind clear, distinct, lasting ideas, till the understanding turns inward upon itself, reflects on its own operations, and makes them objects of its own contemplation" (pp. 110-11). Compare with this the statement made (p. 22): "The moment you watch your thought or feeling, that moment your thought or feeling becomes a blank; mind cannot look upon itself and live." The two views are incompatible—they contain an admission and a denial of the reflexive power of the human mind.

E. G.

The Friars, and how they came to England. Being a Translation of Thomas of Eccleston's *De adventu FF. Minorum in Angliam*. Done into English, with an Introductory Essay on "The Spirit and Genius of the Franciscan Friars," by Father CUTHBERT, of the Order of St. Francis, Capuchin. London: Sands and Co. Pp. 252. 1903. Price 5s. 6d.

FATHER CUTHBERT'S translation is prefaced by an essay on the Franciscan spirit and genius, which occupies a little more than half a volume of 245 pages. In this introduction the author speaks very strongly of the great part played by the order in a time of great danger to both Church and State in the first part of the thirteenth century; in fact, he says the Friars saved both Church and State. Even if this be considered somewhat exaggerated, there is no doubt that the work done by the Friars among the people, and especially the poor people, was great and lasting. The passage cited (p. 93) from Gregorovius might well have inspired Macaulay's famous description of the Jesuits: "The mendicant Brothers influenced every stratum of society. They thrust the secular clergy from the confessional and the pulpit; they filled the chairs of the

University. . . . They sat in the College of Cardinals, and as Popes mounted the sacred chair. Their voices whispered to the consciences of the citizen in the inmost chamber of his dwelling, and at the most sumptuous courts into the ears of the king, whose confessors and counsellors they were. . . . They saw and heard everything." There are two points on which Father Cuthbert brings out the true spirit of St. Francis — on poverty and learning. On both these points exaggerated ideas have been current, to the effect that poverty was carried to excess, and that St. Francis condemned learning. The poverty St. Francis wanted was that of the poor of the time, in matter of money, dwellings and clothes; but he did not want to stereotype the conditions of the mediæval peasantry. In the matter of learning, St. Francis made the rule "that the brethren who cannot read shall not seek to learn." Nevertheless, he commissioned St. Anthony, albeit reluctantly, to teach the brethren theology. It was against the arrogance of academic learning, and not against learning itself, that St. Francis set his face. Father Cuthbert seems to indicate that the Capuchins arose as a distinct branch of the Franciscan Friars from the desire to return more closely to the true spirit of poverty of St. Francis, as against the relaxations that had crept in owing to the circumstances of the time, and merely remarks that they adopted the form of habit which they believed St. Francis wore himself. Surely it was the question about the habit and beard that played the greatest part in the formation of the Capuchins as an order distinct from the Observants and Conventuals. For even after Matteo di Bassi and his companions, who adopted the long cowl, had obtained the authorisation of Clement VII., they were treated as apostates by the Provincial of the Observants. They took refuge with the Conventuals, and in 1528 were united with them, the long pointed hoods and beards being then sanctioned. Exemption from the authority of the Conventual General was obtained in 1617. The appreciation given by Father Cuthbert gives us an idea of Eccleston's work: "His work has not the poetic charm of the Fioretti. The greyiness of the English sky is reflected in his style just as the sunshine of Italy pervades the latter book. Yet in one as in the other there is the same fresh and invigorating atmosphere of mind, the same directness and simplicity of the Franciscan spirit." He gives the faults in the same matter-of-fact way as the virtues of the Friars. Thus

of a very spiritual Father we are told, that when he became guardian a change came over him, and instead of discoursing on heavenly things he could only say, "Give, give, give." An instance of the reception a Friar sometimes meets with when begging is seen in the visit of a Friar for that purpose to his sister. She turned away her face, and exclaimed: "Cursed be the hour in which I have ever seen thee." There is a list of ministers-provincial of the English province, and an index at the end of the book.

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D. I.

The Paternoster Books : a Spiritual Consolation, and other Treatises. By the Blessed Martyr, JOHN FISHER. Edited by D. O'CONNOR. 8vo. Pp. 114. 1s.

The Four Last Things. By the Blessed Martyr, Sir THOMAS MORE, Kt. Edited by D. O'CONNOR. London and Leamington : The Art and Book Company. 8vo. Pp. 102. 1s.

THE Art and Book Company deserve every encouragement for their reprints, at a low price, of little books which are real oases amid the wastes of desert which desolate the literature of to-day.

Of the works in preparation or contemplated, two, the Treatises written by Blessed Fisher when in the Tower and a Sermon on the Passion, published in the year of his martyrdom (1535), is the first issue. It is to be hoped that those who would realise something of the truth of Canon Mackay's words, that "had Fisher lived in happier times, he himself would have been another St. Francis of Sales," will make this booklet their study.

Blessed Thomas More's unfinished treatise on *The Four Last Things* was written in 1522, amid the splendours of the Court of Henry VIII., and is a touching example of pre-Reformation books of devotion. It is the best of the ascetical works of one who "stands quite apart among the ascetic writers of the Church . . . from his knowledge of the human heart, his analysis of the workings of passion and counter workings of grace . . ." in the words of Father Bridgett. Father O'Connor's edition is transcribed for the first time from the black-letter type of Rastell's edition of 1557.

Both booklets have portraits, Fisher's from Holbein's drawing, More's from Bartolozzi's engraving by Holbein.

D. M. O'C.

St. Patrick in History. By the Very Rev. THOS. J. SHAHAN, D.D., Professor in the Catholic University of Washington, D.C. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

THE writer of this inviting little volume is familiar with all that scholarship has been able to ascertain or to surmise about Ireland's national Saint. His list of authorities will be helpful to the student; and his "foreword" is a summary of Patrician lore. The critical survey in this prefatory essay of the results obtained in a somewhat barren field of antiquarian research, will discourage any who may still be looking in that direction for clear and satisfying information concerning the actual Patrick. "Unfortunately," writes Dr. Shahan, "no chronicler has done for him what Adamnan did for St. Columba, or enshrined him in his proper social and political setting like St. Bede and St. Gregory of Tours." The scanty materials of history and its doubtful conclusions, though fully and interestingly stated by Dr. Shahan, yield no convincing delineation of the saint, his time or his contemporaries. Doubtless, however, this veil over the personality of St. Patrick has helped to quicken the idealising devotion of the Celt, whose national and spiritual aspirations came in time to be embodied in the national Apostle. No saint or hero of any race stands for so much to his own people. Their impassioned attachment makes his name inseparable from any portion of their religious history. Their salutation, "God and Patrick be with you," shows how deeply he has lived in their national and private life. It is this ideal Patrick, the genius and patron of Irish faith and patriotism, that Dr. Shahan finds in the history of Ireland and of the nations that have felt her missionary influence. The main part of this booklet is an eloquent eulogy of the saint as reflected in the spirit and achievements of Irish Christianity at home and abroad. The distinctive traits of the national religion are held to have been imparted by the founder himself, who "moulded anew the Irish character," and stamped upon the soul of the race the "spiritual physiognomy" it still bears. The perseverance, the missionary zeal, the perfect adjustment of the religion to the ideals of nationality, are indelible traces of his shaping hand. The treatise, from its form and manner, seems to have been originally designed as a festival panegyric. Compared with the cautious and measured "foreword," it might belong to an earlier period of Dr. Shahan's literary experience. The high-pitched

and sometimes rhapsodical style does not always tend to clearness, and sometimes runs to bathos, as on page 57, where we are told of "the Irish people scattered like a sacred chaff to fructify on all sides." Still these glowing pages cannot fail to stimulate the well-tryed love and loyalty to which they are addressed; and children of St. Patrick throughout the world will read them with gratitude.

J. C.

The Old Riddle and the Newest Answer. By JOHN GERARD, S.J., F.L.S. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 8vo. Pp. vi.-293. 5s.

THERE can be little doubt that the indifference to religion, of which at the present day we hear so many complaints, is, to a large extent, the result of widespread, though vague, impressions, derived mostly from hearsay, popular science manuals, and short magazine articles, that science has undermined the common foundation of all religion—the belief in the existence of God. A few certain truths, we are told from time to time, have been discovered by scientific investigation, but the existence of God is not one of them; indeed, it has been shown to be at best improbable; and consequently the prevailing religious sentiment, outside the Church, tends more and more to embody itself in systems of philanthropy rather than in any definite theological belief. Since the former alone deals, as it is supposed, with certainties, the rest is mere speculation, which has little interest for a practical generation.

The Rationalist Press Association, a body founded at the beginning of this century for the support and encouragement of this view of religion, has with this object recently published a sixpenny translation of Professor Haeckel's *Riddle of the Universe*; and it is this which has called forth Father Gerard's admirable book.

In *The Old Riddle and the Newest Answer*, Father Gerard subjects the monism which Professor Haeckel puts forward as the answer to "the great fundamental problem which the student of nature has to face," to analysis and criticism, and succeeds in showing that his theory is in flagrant opposition to the fundamental canon of scientific enquiry which requires that conclusions should be strictly based on observation and experiment.

The "riddle" which has to be solved is the question:

"What is the force or power at the back of Nature which first set her going, and whence she draws the capability of performing her operation?" Father Gerard points out that, from the nature of the case, it is impossible that this force should be observed or experimented upon and that such evidence as we have points to conclusions opposed to those of Professor Haeckel. The universe, or cosmos, is considered by Professor Haeckel to be eternal, infinite and illimitable. Its substance fills infinite space and is in eternal motion; and the Law of Substance, uniting the two scientific principles of the indestructibility of matter and the conservation of energy, accounts for the successive transformations of nature and provides the fixed laws under whose eternal validity these transformations take place. But matter is not one, but manifold; each several atom must, if matter is self-existent, have a self-existence of its own. How comes it then that they all obey the same laws? Further, the "Law of Substance" is shown to be non-existent. With the help of the discovery of radium, a "turbulent and unconventional element," Father Gerard shows that the dissolution of matter, and not its indestructibility, is the true doctrine. Matter, far from being eternal, is now regarded as being doomed to destruction. On the other hand, not self-movement, but inertia is the property which science ascribes to matter; and to ascribe to it not merely self-motion but sensation and will, as Professor Haeckel does, is contrary to all the evidence which science, on its own principles, can admit. Father Gerard admits that such judgments are not yet final, or universally accepted. But Professor Haeckel's confident utterances could be justified only on the supposition that we know everything, whereas the fact is that of these fundamental questions we know far less than the little we seemed to know. And what, Father Gerard asks, becomes of the Law of Substance, if both its parts are found thus to contradict the conclusion Professor Haeckel draws from it?

Father Gerard does not limit himself to criticism of Haeckel's theory, but goes on to review the conclusions which have provided a basis for it. He goes at some length into the question of evolution, especially that form of it which is embodied in the Darwinian hypothesis of natural selection, and shows strong reason for denying the possibility of a transformation of species having ever taken place. He makes a strong defence of the "cosmological proof of the existence of God, and insists on the

evidential value of intellect, free-will and, above all, of the sense of right and wrong. Finally he shows, on the most rigid scientific principles, the absolute necessity of an intelligent Creator discovered, not indeed directly by the senses, but by a necessary inference from the facts of Nature: "God is the explanation of the world, and the world is the demonstration of God."

A remarkable feature of Father Gerard's book is the extent to which he has fortified himself with quotations from scientific authorities. The peculiar richness in this respect makes it almost a complete brief for the upholders of Theism, as against pseudo-scientific Agnosticism, furnished to a very large extent by the opponents of Theism themselves. The book is easy reading, the way being made smooth for the non-scientific by constant explanation of scientific terms and by remarkable simplicity of phrase, without any sacrifice of accuracy of statement or closeness of reasoning; and Father Gerard, though abounding in dry humour, abstains altogether from the sarcasm and invective which too often disfigure controversial writing. We can only regret that this antidote will, in all probability, be limited in its operation by its expensiveness, as compared with the sixpenny publication which has occasioned its production.

A. B. S.

Tractatus de Virtutibus Infusus. Auctore P. SANCTO SCHIFFINI, S.J. Freiburg: Herder. 8vo., pp. vii.-695.

FATHER SCHIFFINI, already well known for his many philosophical works, will certainly add to his reputation by this most excellent treatise on the "Infused Virtues," a subject which, though of great importance, seems to suffer considerable neglect in many theological centres. This volume is issued as a sequel and complement to the *Tractatus de Gratia Divina*, which has already been most favourably reviewed in these columns; and the same qualities which gained so cordial a reception for that work, are equally conspicuous in this. Clearness, order and precision of ideas, proofs which abound in solidity and logical vigour, evidence of reading, wide yet well-digested, a grace and ease of style too often missing from theological text-books, and a close adherence to the true teaching of the Angelic Doctor; all these are outstanding features.

The learned author's treatment of the question of faith, its necessity, its relation to divine and ecclesiastical authority, seems to us to be particularly good; while his solutions of the many real difficulties that he proposes against his doctrine are always penetrating and clear. He solves difficulties, as far as they are capable of solution; he does not, like some well-known authors, merely walk round them, scatter a few harmless distinctions and pass on to the next. In a word, this *Tractatus* is to be highly commended as the work of a man who thinks for himself, and is not content to depend entirely upon the thoughts or imaginations of others.

J. M. K.

Institutiones Propædæuticæ ad Sacram Theologiam.

Auctore CHRISTIANO PESCH, S.J. Freiburg: Herder.

8vo., pp. vii.-415. 5s. 10d. (Third edition.)

FATHER PESCH'S complete course of Theological textbooks, or *Praelectiones Dogmaticæ*, is so well known that but few words are needed to introduce this, the third edition of Vol. I., to our readers. Substantially it is the same as preceding editions, but it has here and there received many additions and been brought quite up to date, an important matter nowadays in a volume dealing with such questions as "The Authenticity of the Gospels," "The Institution and Origin of the Church," "Inspiration," "Miracles," "The Hierarchy," and other much-discussed matters. To the student of these and other introductory theological questions this book will prove a most useful and valuable guide. New features are alphabetical indexes of the Councils, Popes and writers whose acts or works are referred to or quoted; and also a list, with brief descriptions, of the many heresies dealt with in the course of the work. Unfortunately Father Pesch is not remarkable for the ease and limpidity of his style, which at times reminds us of the constructional complications peculiar to German; but this, we presume, is an unavoidable misfortune, and, at any rate, one for which due allowance will be made in a book that contains so many points of real excellence.

T. H.

The Parish Priest on Duty : The Sacraments. By H. J. HEUSER. New York, etc. : Benziger Bros. Pp. 143. 2s. 6d.

THIS is intended to be a practical manual for priests on the mission, and for theological students preparing for the mission, "being a brief summary of the prescribed manner of administering the sacraments, the service of the dead, and sundry other pastoral functions in accordance with the Roman ritual." It is printed in large clear type, and is catechetical in form. Though the author has succeeded in drawing up a simple manual, and has so far attained his object, we are inclined to think that there are many priests who will hardly deem it a compliment to be offered a catechism of the barest elements of the work they have been studying for years. The daily work of a priest makes him quite familiar with the administration of the sacraments under ordinary circumstances, and it is only in unusual cases that he has need to consult books. And where there is need to consult books, it is to his well-thumbed text-book that he will go, not to a brief catechism. Those, however, who intend to make use of it must remember that it is written for America by an American priest, and that consequently it is not a guide for a priest on the English mission in such things as the reception of a convert and the ritual of matrimony. We would also point out that the statement (p. 108) that "the last blessing may be repeated like Extreme Unction, when, after recovery, the immediate danger of death returns," would be correct if the words "like Extreme Unction" were omitted (S.C.I., June 20th, 1836).

O. W.

Anecdotes and Examples Illustrating the Catholic Catechism. By the Rev. FRANCIS SPIRAGO. Edited by the Rev. JAMES J. BAXTER, D.D. New York : Benziger Bros. 1904. 8vo. Pp. xxvii.-596. 6s. net.

RELIGIOUS knowledge is all important. Other knowledge enables man to play his part in the world. Religious knowledge helps him to save his immortal soul. Any book, then, assisting a teacher in the work of religious instruction is a boon. Such is Father Baxter's *Anecdotes and Examples*, selected and arranged by Father Spirago, and now supplemented and adapted to the Baltimore Catechism by Father Baxter of Boston. A catechist may have a complete knowledge of his

subject. He may be a skilful teacher and may make the importance of his teaching apparent. He may treat it with all becoming reverence, but unless he makes his matter interesting he will not succeed in keeping a class of children attentive. Short stories must be made use of if the instruction is to be attractive. We know how useful examples and anecdotes are in making the instruction clear. They aid the understanding by representing abstract doctrines in concrete pictures by moving the will and spurring on to imitation. "Words move, but examples draw," says the proverb. But, better still, these little stories keep the attention fixed. Children like to hear them, and any distraction is easily dispelled and any want of attention checked by the narration of an anecdote. Father Baxter gives us a treasury on which to draw. The examples are well chosen from Saints' lives, history ancient and modern, and everyday life. The editor has adapted these stories to the Baltimore Catechism, a catechism far superior to many others so far as simplicity of style and exhaustive treatment of the entire subject are concerned. The book is well printed, of convenient size, and has two excellent indexes, that at the beginning of the book giving the list of anecdotes under their doctrinal headings, that at the end showing the various truths illustrated.

J. F. C.

The School of the Heart. By MARGARET FLETCHER. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1904. Small 8vo. Pp. iv.-109. Price 2s. 6d. net.

WE strongly recommend a careful perusal of this solid yet elegantly written little treatise to all girls about to begin life for themselves. "Falling in Love" is the title of the first chapter, which contains some mature reflections upon the period of danger that begins when the capacities and powers of womanhood, hitherto but dimly known, meet with a full conscious recognition. The tendency of these newly-recognised powers when not checked by reason and trained according to the law of God, is to bring about an unhealthy unrest in the soul, to weaken the character and impair the health, if it does not result in spiritual and moral ruin. This matter is plainly discussed and some wholesome advice given. The second chapter deals with married life and its duties and a third speaks of the profitable manner in which the "woman of leisure" may utilise her opportunities for the good of others.

The general treatment of the whole subject is admirably adapted to the present condition of society, and a much-needed antidote is supplied at a time when the ideal of Christian marriage is blurred and dimmed by legislature and literature alike.

F. E. O'H.

The Right to Life of the Unborn Child. New York: Joseph F. Wagner. 8vo. Pp.125. Price \$1.

TO follow a good controversy is as interesting as to watch a game at chess. We can follow with enthusiasm the victorious controversialist—if his opinions agree with our own—as he dislodges his opponent from one position after another until he so fastens him that it is evidently a checkmate. The book under review is such a controversy. A learned Dutch gynecologist attacks the decree of the Holy Office concerning abortion. He is answered by a Jesuit theologian and by a Catholic doctor skilled in medical jurisprudence. That the matter affords plenty of scope for dispute is evidenced by the fact that theologians themselves disagreed previously to the issuing of the decree. The old controversy is gone through over again with little substantial difference. The arguments and objections to be found in the text books of Moral Theology are reproduced and drawn out at length, and considerable skill is shown in handling them.

Beyond the pleasure of witnessing a well-fought fight, there is little to interest the theologian. The book, however, is one that might well be placed in the hands of doctors—Catholic or non-Catholic. The translation is good, and one meets with few Americanisms.

O. W.

A Year's Sermons. New York: Joseph F. Wagner. 8vo. Pp. 371. Price \$1. 50.

THIS is the second series of *A Year's Sermons*. If the taste of lay Catholics is judged correctly by the editor of a new Catholic weekly who furnishes his readers with a sermon each week, this volume of sermons will find purchasers outside the ranks of the clergy. The contributors to it are among the best known preachers of the day, here and in America. Each sermon is preceded by a synopsis.

O. W.

Nos Egaux et Nos Inférieurs : ou La Vie Chrétienne au Milieu du Monde. Recueillis, révisés et publiés par ETIENNE LAUBARÈDE. Paris : Ch. Douniol. 1904. 8vo. Pp. xv.-418. Price 3 fr. 50c.

THE excellent little book before us is based upon some of the unpublished writings of Princess Carolyne de Sayn Wittgenstein, whose mortal remains rest in the German Cemetery that lies close to St. Peter's in Rome. She died in 1887, passing *per angusta ad angusta*, as the epitaph over her tomb relates. Previous to this volume only a fragment of her writings had appeared in public, and it seems a pity that so much more must remain unpublished till 25 years from the date of her death have passed away.

However, to people living in the world these pages should be of inestimable value, for they reveal the deeply Christian principles and holy thoughts that regulated and inspired the Princess' own life in the service of God and of men. She unfolds the secret of sanctity in our modern every-day life and brings the principles of the Gospel into touch with present-day conditions. In all this she shows an intimate acquaintance with the world—an analytical insight into human character ; and in the setting of a clear and refined style the beauty and strength of the Christian life is brought into powerful contrast with the imitation modelled upon the maxims of the world.

The range of topics discussed and the manner of treatment may be gauged from the two following extracts :—

“ De tout temps et parmi tous les peuples civilisés, la société repose sur la famille. Plus celle-ci fut forte puissante et respectée dans une nation, plus cette nation fut prospère et honorée ; car la famille renferme en elle le principe du Mariage, de la Propriété, de l'Autorité et de la Religion ” (p. 37).

“ La Bienveillance est le désir d'être bon pour tous ; la Coquetterie, celui de plaire à tous. Ces deux sentiments de prime abord semblent donc se correspondre, se parfaire l'un l'autre ; et pourtant, loin de s'identifier, ils s'excluent, ils sont essentiellement incompatibles ” (p. 79).

In conclusion, we wish the book every success. Were the principles it so well inculcates more widely recognized, the world would be richer in noble characters.

F. E. O'H.

Doctrina Russorum de statu justitiæ originalis. Anczyc :

Cracow. 1903. Pp. 236. Price (unbound), 4s. 6d.

DR. GEORGE B. MATULEWICZ, the author of this interesting volume, is apparently a Catholic Priest, and is a graduate of the Catholic University of Freiburg, in Switzerland. He took the subject for his doctor's dissertation, for which we ought to be very grateful to him, as he shows himself master of both Catholic doctrine and Russian literature. He proves the justice of the complaints of modern Russian theologians that their works are ignored by Catholics and Protestants. The consequence is that we speak of religion in Russia as if nothing had happened to it within the last three centuries. We imagine, perhaps, that there would be no difficulty in obtaining the acceptance of the *Filioque* if the Russians seriously wished for re-union. We attribute their denial of Papal Infallibility to the political situation of the Russian Church, and therefore do not consider it as an obstacle if the Czar really desired re-union. In case of this event, however, it would be better for both sides to realize fully all the differences between the Catholic and the Russian communion.

The author has chosen the Russian doctrine of the state of original justice, which necessarily includes their views on original sin, actual and sanctifying grace, the end of man, and even the creation of every individual soul. In all these points the Russian doctrine differs from our own, though apparently in many cases only slightly. The Russians seem to be drifting gradually to rationalism and, what is worse, not merely ignore the Catholic doctrine, but actually attack and misrepresent it. Their explanation, *e.g.*, of St. Augustine's doctrine of the consequences of original sin, hardly differs from Luther's view on the subject (p. 44).

The treatment of the thesis is very clear, and illustrated by copious notes, many of them in Greek and Russian. The latter will be especially welcomed by Russian scholars as an introduction to Russian theological works. The printing of these notes is no doubt the reason for the rather high price of this small but very interesting book.

L. N.

A Systematic Study of the Catholic Religion. By the Rev. CHARLES COPPENS, S.J. Freiburg: Herder. 1903. Pp. ix.-369. Price 4s.

IT has become the practice in Catholic Colleges to teach religion to advanced students in the form of lectures.

This gives the instructor a better opportunity of making religion more attractive and interesting and of showing the connection which exists between the different truths and practices of our holy religion. The system has, however, one serious drawback: the best lectures are liable to be soon forgotten and thus have not much practical effect. Notes taken by the pupil often give a garbled and incorrect version of the lecture besides hindering him from paying sufficient attention to the lecturer and from receiving that stimulus to his will which is paramount in religious instruction of every grade.

In the work before us Father Coppens supplies the pupil with a manual for repetition as well as for private study. The fact that he closely follows Fr. Hunter's *Outlines of Dogmatic Theology* is a great convenience both for the lecturer and for the hearer who may seek further information.

The author has done his task exceedingly well and the publisher has given the book an appearance worthy of its contents at a very moderate price.

L. N.

Pastoral Theology. By Prof. Dr. KRIEG; Book I. Freiburg: Herder. 1904. Pp. xvi.-558. Price 10s.

THE new *Pastoral Theology* of Dr. Krieg will consist of four Books. The present volume gives thirty-four pages on the subject in general, and then turns to the principles to be observed in the guidance of individual souls. The latter he considers in three great groups which are naturally subdivided into many smaller sets. In the first group he speaks of dealing with the faithful according to the peculiar conditions of their soul and body (*i.e.*, according to age and health). The second group is arranged according to the weaknesses and infirmities which make the soul's struggle against sin more difficult. In the third group the author deals with the duties, difficulties and needs of souls according to their state of life.

The treatment of this part is admirable and quite up-to-date, although the principles are as old as Christianity.

The same may be said of the second part of the book, describing the general means by which to influence and help souls towards their last end. We here find the principles of *Pastoral Theology* not only as they apply to the Confessional, but also to the services of the Church, to the school, the press, and the different charitable and religious societies and guilds.

It would be erroneous to suppose that Dr. Krieg over-estimates theory, or that he gives no scope for the use of common sense or of experience ; on the contrary, his tendency is to help and encourage the use of sound judgment, and to open the eyes of the young priest so that he may be prepared for different emergencies. Many a valuable opportunity of doing good and preventing evil has been lost by the priest having been suddenly brought into contact with difficulties hitherto unforeseen, and many an exercise of common sense has resulted in serious error and harm because an important factor or principle has been overlooked.

Some peculiar circumstances supposed in Dr. Krieg's book do not, of course, obtain with us, and therefore a translator of this valuable book would have to alter some passages. A translation would, however, be most acceptable, because the treatment of the matter is more scientific and more complete than in our English Manuals of Pastoral Theology.

L. N.

A Manual of Canon Law (Lehrbuch des Katholischen Kirchenrechtes). By Dr. J. B. SAGMÜLLER, Professor at the University of Tübingen. Freiburg : Herder. 1904.

THE first half of the present volume has appeared some time ago and was well received by the Catholic Press in Germany. The latter half is equally good, if not better. The definitions and statements are clear in spite of their brevity. The different subjects treated are very numerous and can easily be found with the help of a complete index filling thirty pages. The historical development of institutions is constantly considered. The selection of references shows both the erudition and the good judgment of the author ; and at the same time these form a useful guide for the beginner who takes special interest

in Canon Law or in any particular branch of it. The fact that the work is German, that it considers chiefly German conditions, and that it appears on the eve of the reformation of Canon Law, will not be favourable factors for the spread of the book in English-speaking countries. A later edition might, however, form the basis of a similar work in English.

L. N.

Geschichte des Vatikanischen Konzils: Von seiner ersten Ankündigung bis zu seiner Vertagung. Nach den Authentischen Dokumenten dargestellt von THEODOR GRANDERATH, S.J., Herausgegeben von KONRAD KIRCH, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. 1903. Vol. I., xxiv.-534 pp. Price 9 Mark; Vol. II., xx.-758 pp. Price 12 Mark.

FATHER THEODOR GRANDERATH, a learned theologian and canonist of the Society of Jesus, well-known in the literary world by his publication of the *Collectio Conciliorum Lacensis*, which was begun by Father Schneemann, S.J. (on November 20th, 1885), has undertaken the somewhat difficult task of writing *The History of the Vatican Council*, in three volumes. To judge from the two volumes already published, we are justified in saying that this work is, and will be for all time to come, a standard work, for it is based on a thorough investigation into the original sources and authentic documents. It is written with admirable skill and in such a way that, in spite of the vast field of matter, the subject has not become too long and yet in spite of its comparative shortness nothing essential has been left out. It is true we are already in possession of some valuable publications on the origin, development and result of the Vatican Council from authorities and eye-witnesses such as Eugenio Ceconi in his *Storia del Concilio Ecumenico scritta sui Documenti Originali*; but he completed only the first part, called *Antecedenti del Concilio*, in four volumes (1873-9). Bishop Fessler, of St. Pölten, Secretary of the Vatican Council, wrote *Das Vatikanische Konzil*; Archbishop Manning *The True Story of the Vatican Council*; Sabin, *Histoire du Concile Œcumenique et Général du Vatican*; Emile Ollivier, *L'Eglise et l'état au Concile du Vatican*. We have also the works written by the Council's enemies, such as Dr. T. Friedrich's *Geschichte des Vatikanischen Konzils*, and similar publications by Schulte, Döllinger, and his

disciple Lord Acton. The history of the Vatican Council, however, by Father Granderath, is unsurpassed by any of them. For twenty-five years of constant research, free access to the treasures of the Vatican archives, the full permission of Leo XIII. to make use of these treasures in unlimited measure for an "objective" history of the Council, a thorough acquaintance with all the modern languages, and a warm zeal for the cause which was entrusted to his care, have enabled Father Granderath to write this history with an authority and a completeness which would have been impossible to others. As, however, the author died on March 19, 1902, after having brought the work to completion in three volumes, Father Konrad Kirch, S.J., was entrusted with its publication. The third volume is to appear in the course of 1904.

Little need be said in praise and recommendation of the author and the work itself. For the name of Father Granderath in the literary world, the thoroughness of his work, the comprehensiveness of its contents, the clearness of the style, speak for themselves. Many an inaccuracy, falsehood or calumny which has been inserted in the histories of the anti-Vatican writers Schulte and Friedrich, has been rectified; as, for instance, the interruption of Bishop Strossmayer of Diakovar, "the bishop from the Turkish frontier." Father Granderath does not conceal the shortcomings or weaknesses of some of the prelates who were afraid of the outbursts of the populace or of becoming *personas minus gratas* in the eyes of their Governments. In order to make the story more attractive, the narrative is occasionally interwoven with some interesting incidents, *e.g.*, that of Monseigneur Dupanloup of Orléans who, previous to the opening of the Council, went one day to pay a visit to Cardinal Rauscher, Archbishop of Vienna, to influence him against the definition of the infallibility. By mistake the cabman took Monseigneur Dupanloup to the Nuncio at Vienna, who listened for a considerable time to all the Bishop had to say about the Council and the infallibility. Finally the Nuncio replied, "I beg your pardon, Monseigneur, I see you are mistaken. I am the Nuncio, and I believe it was not your intention to speak to the Nuncio in such a way!" (vol. i., p. 281). We hear also of different donations which were sent to Pius IX. from all parts of the world to defray the expenses of the Council; among these a medal adorned with jewels sent by Garcia Moreno and a little basket made of silver wire, with a silver bouquet in it contain-

ing the sum of 7,000 francs in gold, sent by ladies of the Archdiocese of Lima, etc. (see vol. i., pp. 147-9).

But let us return to the work itself. The first volume consists of 533 pages and is entirely devoted to the preparation for the Council. It is divided into three books. The first speaks of the reasons and causes for the convocation of an "Ecumenical Council," its private proclamation to the Cardinals on December 6, 1864, of the opinions of Cardinals and Bishops concerning its necessity and opportuneness, and the remote preparation for it by forming special committees to discuss the question who was to be invited by right, privilege or custom, and who was to be excluded. Finally it speaks of the public proclamation of the Council on June 29, 1867, the 18th centenary of the Martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul. The second book tells how this proclamation was received by Catholics, Protestants and Oriental Schismatics, speaks of the polemics and controversies which arose in France (Monseigneurs Maret and Dupanloup), Germany (Döllinger), in the *Civiltà Cattolica* and the *Correspondant*, and lastly of the attitude of the different Governments. The third book gives us the proximate preparation and how it was to be conducted, speaks of the general congregations, public sessions, the presidents, promoters, etc., . . . and gives also a *résumé* of the different proposals made by the Bishops of the various countries. And it is perhaps interesting to learn that the reforms laid down in the various *motu proprio*s of the present Holy Father, Pope Pius X., are nothing but the practical solutions and executions of the proposals which were laid before the Vatican Council. Among these we find : restoration of the genuine Gregorian Song, codification of the Canon Law, revision of the Breviary and the Martyrology, definition of the Assumption of our Blessed Lady into Heaven as a dogma of the faith, abolition of some matrimonial impediments, mitigation of fasting and abstinence, etc. (*cf.*, vol. i., chap. vii.), pp. 434-53). To the first volume most interesting, useful and instructive appendices are added which contain the names of all the prelates who had an active vote in the Council, as well as two tables of all the Bishoprics, Vicariates, and Prefectures Apostolic existing at the time of the Vatican Council.

The second volume of 758 pp., which treats of the opening of the Council on December 8, 1869, up to the third public session and the constitution *De fide Catholica*, is also divided into three books. Out of 1,050 prelates who had the right of

voting, 774 were present at the opening, *i.e.*, Pope Pius IX., 49 Cardinals, 10 Patriarchs, 10 Primates, 127 Archbishops, 529 Bishops, 6 Abbots *nullius*, 16 Abbots General, 26 Superiors General and 1 Apostolic Administrator. All the different countries of the world were represented except Russia, because the Catholic Bishops were strictly forbidden to attend (only the Apostolic Administrator of Podlachien was present). The youngest among the prelates was Monseigneur Gibbons (36 years old), then Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina; the oldest was Archbishop MacHale of Tuam in Ireland, born in 1789 (*i.e.*, 80 years old). The Oriental Schismatic Bishops had been invited, but declined, partly on account of ill-feeling against Rome, partly because they were too much under Protestant influence; as, for instance, Mar Scimum, Patriarch of the Nestorians, who said, "The English take the greatest interest in our country, but they drive the people into the nets of Protestantism. I myself would rather prefer to be under the Pope than to depend upon Protestants." Needless to say that the Anglican Bishops were not invited, because their orders were considered to be invalid as Professor Feyerabend had already pointed out the year before, when there was the question of inviting them (vol. i., p. 126, etc.). The rest of the first book of the second volume is taken up by the first and second public sessions and the discussion on the dogmatic constitution *De Catholica Doctrina*, on the proposals of the definition of the Papal Infallibility and the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline, which is continued in the second book. The third book speaks of the attitude of the world at large outside the Council; the Romans, Graty, and the controversy in France; Döllinger and *Die römischen Briefe vom Konzil*; Newman, *The Standard*, *The Spectator*, etc.; Manning and Russell; Bismarck and Arnim, etc.

From the beginning to the end of this admirably written book the reader will be deeply impressed by the visible guidance of Divine Providence which, in spite of all difficulties, brought all things to a satisfactory conclusion. We hope that someone will translate this standard work into English and thereby make it accessible to a larger circle of English-speaking readers unacquainted with the German language in which it is written.

D. M. S.

Sir Thomas More's Utopia. Edited, with introduction and notes, by J. CHURTON COLLINS. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.

WHILE we await Messrs. Bell's *édition de luxe* of the *Utopia*, lovers of More—and who that knows him does not love him?—will thank Mr. Churton Collins for this admirable edition of one of the most famous works in English literature, of a book that was part of the personal life and character of Fuller's "brightest star." By his introduction and notes, Mr. Churton Collins has given the student of More an apparatus for appreciating a work of singularly rich interest in moral and political philosophy, in the theory of education, and in social and political history. What Dr. Lupton's fine edition of the Latin text did for mature scholars, this edition will do for students as regards philosophy and history. Using, we are glad to say, Robynson's excellent translation (1551), full of quaintness and vigour and dignity, rather than Burnet's closer one (1684), he contributes an elucidation and an atmosphere by and in which the work can best be studied.

The "very gracious fooling" of the *Utopia* was written just before More was, in the expressive words of Erasmus, "dragged into Court"; when his studies as philosopher and scholar were still his peaceful communion. It is the mirror of its age, the first spring of the Renaissance. Although the New Learning movement had touched its zenith in Italy, it had not done so in England. The men who had surrounded Cosmo de Medici at Florence, or Nicholas V. at Rome, were, it is true, dead; but their influence was little more than beginning to penetrate England. Yet, soon the study of Holy Scriptures was interwoven with the new lights and shadows of the philosophies of Greece and Rome. The discoveries in astronomy and geography gave a new horizon to men's minds. The Humanists brought into social life tendencies and effects unknown to the old feudalism and chivalry. The ground-swell of the storm about to lash religion was already visible. As a Greek and Latin scholar, as legist, politician, lover of theology, More was sympathetically sensitive to the vibration about him. It is thus that the *Utopia* is the mirror also of his mind. The corruption of kings lay before his eyes almost everywhere in Europe. The corruption of justice lay almost everywhere about him at home. The rapacity of the rich, the wretchedness of the poor, and, it must

be added, the scandals of some ecclesiastics, were among the scenes of his daily life. On the other hand, More in his young manhood lived with the *De civitate Dei*. Its influence on the *Utopia* Dr. Lupton described. There More found an ideal commonwealth. Then, amid the new learning, grew his love for Plato. Upon him he modelled the first book. The second has some striking analogies to the *Germania* of Tacitus which Mr. Churton Collins brings out in a way not done before. Its fable is, of course, from Vespucci.

It is a satire which required strong nerves to write in the age of the Tudors; for however enlivened by humour, More's purpose was essentially a serious one. The evils and misery in England and Europe, contrasted unflinchingly with the regulations and institutions of his ideal republic, offered to corrupt Christendom, despite paradox and whimsicality, a picture of the seriousness of life as seen by a lofty mind: a picture from which one

"Taketh the fruyt and let the chaf be stille,"

in the words of Chaucer's *Nun's Priest*.

Like Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*, it was addressed to the learned only, and by them was received with delight. But it had no more practical effect than had Plato's *Republic*. A piece of imaginative, playful mystification, a scholar's *jeu d'esprit* rather than a statesman's reflections, neither More's inner views on religion nor on politics are to be found in it. As Mr. Lilly has pointed out, Morris thought he saw in it his own *Socialism*. But that was founded on the sacrifice of others: More's on the sacrifice of self. One is the attempted escape from involuntary poverty, the other the acceptance of voluntary poverty. Burnet and Mr. Seebohm imagine it to contain the religion of More. But More's was a revealed religion—the Utopian only a natural religion. Creighton felt that More taught in it a toleration he did not practise, forgetting More was only dealing with an unrevealed religion. Yet there were some who were impressed with its reality. Harpsfield, in his *Life of More*, says that many priests were so struck with the people it describes that they wanted to go out and convert them to Christianity.

Mr. Churton Collins, in the short but beautifully written *Life*, estimates More's conduct towards heresy with eminently clear-sightedness and justness. The notes are copious and helpful: evidence that the work has been a labour of love. A glossarial

index, which we owe to Miss H. M. R. Murray, completes our enjoyment.

Manning said, or it has been said for him, that the sign of a gentleman was that he rode to hounds and read Horace. Dr. Bridgett would have added "and the *Utopia*." We therefore heartily join in the wish expressed by Mr. Lilly that the press of either of our great universities would issue a complete edition of More's works both in English and Latin.

D. M. O'C.

Conferences aux jeunes filles sur l'apostolat chrétien.

Par L'ABBÉ L. MOUSSARD. Paris : H. Douniol. Pp. 288
2 fr.

A SERIES of brief, sober, solid, and withal interesting instructions for girls from fifteen to twenty. The first part of the book contains eighteen conferences on apostolate by example, the subjects treated being the duties of girls with reference to the spiritual life, the family life, and marriage. The apostolate by word, which forms the second part, contains conferences on the objections usually brought against the faith, on Religious Congregations, on Confession, on "independent morality," on the comparison between Catholic and Protestant countries, etc. These latter instructions are to our mind the more valuable part of the work. There are plenty of excellent books of spiritual instruction, but our Catholic girls need also to be provided with weapons to defend the faith. To all girls and women who can read French the book is to be recommended.

O. W.

La Faculté de Théologie de Paris. Par L'ABBÉ P. FERET.
Paris : Picard et Fils. 8vo. Pp. 513.

ALTHOUGH this volume can scarcely be said to be of general interest, yet there is much in it bearing directly upon subjects that appeal to all those who are interested in the study of the various movements that agitated the Church during the 17th century.

With some of these, especially Jansenism and Gallicanism, the Faculty of Paris had a most intimate connexion, and in this volume we get a detailed account of that connexion and of the influence that the doctors of Paris exerted upon the progress and final outcome of these movements.

Their relations with Jansenism are shown to have been entirely creditable, as but a very small number among them gave any countenance whatever to the new heresy, while the majority worked unceasingly and untiringly for the settlement of the difficult and complex question of the "Five Propositions" and the condemnation and expulsion of Arnold.

One interesting and characteristic incident is the story of twenty-six or twenty-seven Irish graduates and students of the University who, in 1650, before the question had reached an acute stage in Paris, bound themselves never to uphold or teach in public or private the "Five Propositions." They were promptly accused by the Rector of the University of exceeding their rights and powers in thus formulating a doctrinal decree. The graduates were deprived of their degrees; the others were forbidden to take any. But the Irishmen refused to be crushed thus summarily. They appealed to the Theological Faculty of the University, and even to Parliament. Their energy was at length rewarded and the Rector's decree revoked; but meanwhile the discussions upon the subject had revealed J. de Sainte-Beuve as an ardent Jansenist, and thus the zeal of these Irish students in upholding the purity of the faith was finally the means of exposing the magnitude of the danger threatening the University and the Catholic religion in France, and enabling the authorities to guard against it (p. 192).

The Faculty does not emerge with so clear and unstained an escutcheon from the author's minute examination of their attitude towards Gallicanism. They were strenuous upholders of the Declaration of 1682 and seem to have exerted the utmost ingenuity to escape the full force and effects of Papal pronouncements and condemnations.

Another short chapter of more or less general interest is concerned with the rise of Cartesianism as a rival to Aristotelian philosophy, but there is little else that would appeal greatly to anyone who could not claim the University of Paris as his *alma mater*.

The author has done his work well; it has evidently been a labour of love to him. He has drawn very largely upon the original documents and archives of the University, and this volume should be a valuable addition to the important series that is to deal with the complete history of a venerable and renowned institution.

B. M.

Dante und Houston Stewart Chamberlain. Von HERMANN GRAUERT. 2te. Auflage. Freiburg: B. Herder. 1904. 8vo., pp. 92. Price 1s.

DANTE and Dante literature have in recent times attracted the attention of the literary, scientific, and artistic world, and more so since Mons. Victorien Sardou, a mere playwright, in his famous, or rather infamous, drama, "Dante" (performed for the first time at Drury Lane, under the leadership of Sir Henry Irving in the last days of April, 1903), attempted to cast dishonour upon one of the most hallowed names in literary history by the calumny of a vulgar intrigue and the stigma of immorality.

Hermann Grauert, in his booklet, *Dante und Houston Stewart Chamberlain*, brings before us another foe of Dante, in the person of the well-known Anglo-German philosopher and historian H. S. Chamberlain who in his latest work, *Grundlagen des 19 Jahrhunderts*, goes even so far as to say that Dante was not an ideal Christian poet, nay, he was not a Christian at all; for as far as religion is concerned we find in Dante nothing "but an Aristotelian rational scaffolding consisting of a mere abstract cobweb," in which the name Jesus Christ is not even mentioned (*ein Aristotelisches aus lauter abstracktem Spinnwebgewebe errichtetes Vernunftgerüst* (p. 48).

This excellent booklet of Grauert, however, contains more than is indicated by the title. If the reader opens the index and chapter of contents, he will find a thorough critique of Sardou's drama, "Dante," according to the leading English papers (ch. i.); Dante, "the poet of the soul, seeking after happiness," as Hilty says of him (ch. ii.). Chapter iii. gives an *exposé* of Mr. Chamberlain's ideas about Dante, who is called by this philosopher "the cultured German" and "the man of eminent genius of the new German epoch of culture" (*das erste künftlerische Weltgenie der neuen germanischen Kulturepoche*); and chapter iv., a thorough criticism on Chamberlain's assertion that the name of Jesus Christ does not occur in Dante's *Divina Commedia*, where Grauert shows that the name of Jesus Christ is expressly mentioned in forty-three different places (*i.e.*, once in the "Inferno," eight times in the "Purgatorio" and thirty-four times in the "Paradiso"). Chapters v. and vi. are devoted to the life and works of Dante, with a very interesting *resumé* of the different editions and explanations of Dante's works.

Grauert maintains, against Edward Moore, that the work *Quaestio de aqua et terra* which has been ascribed to Dante is not genuine. No doubt everyone interested in Dante, his life and works, and knowing the language of the "cultured nation," will avail himself of this booklet of Grauert.

D. M. S.

Letters from the Beloved City: To S. B. from Philip.
London: Longmans, Green and Co. 8vo, pp. 134. 1904.
3s. 6d.

THIS is a collection of letters addressed to those who, though not of the Catholic faith, are seeking enlightenment on the Catholic Church. The volume is written in a conciliatory tone and the reader is requested in the first letter to allow calm judgment and fair-mindedness as well as humble prayer to accompany his perusal of the considerations put before him. The considerations themselves centre chiefly around the "one true fold" and its notes, while the last three letters deal with our Lady and the ancient devotion to her in England. The book is to be recommended for its simplicity, temperate spirit and, above all, for its abundant and apt quotations from Scripture.

F. E. O'H.

Where Saints have Trod: Some studies in Asceticism. By M. D. PETRE. With a preface by the Rev. GEORGE TYRRELL, S.J. London: Catholic Truth Society. 1903.

THIS book should certainly have had the benefit of ecclesiastical censorship. The subjects on which it treats are such as require the *imprimatur* of diocesan authority. Father Tyrrell contributes a preface to the work, but he carefully refrains from giving it his blessing. He says it ought to be "welcomed by both sides," which prepares us for finding in its pages some ideas about Asceticism which are, at least, doubtful. Miss Petre seems to be a lady of somewhat advanced views. She has got hold of the word "sub-conscious," and uses it to state a theory of prayer which has no support either in theology or in psychology. She is concerned to observe that there are religious who look upon the religious life as "an improvement on Christianity," whereas she holds it to be "an attempt at the

complete fulfilment" of Christianity. In Catholic theology the religious life is both these things, if the term Christianity is rightly understood. She is very fond of the word "living"—another favourite adjective with the followers of Ritschl. Devotions must be "fresh and living," not "decayed and effete"; "living shoots, not fungoid growths." To make our catechetical instruction efficient, it must be "living and strenuous." With this ritual, "living" nearly always means "adapted to my subjective persuasions." Miss Petre is too sound a Catholic not to recognise that devotion and faith depend on external and objective teaching; but why does she try to confuse and mystify the good simple clients of the Catholic Truth Society? She takes great trouble to reconcile the preservation of reputation—which she calls a fundamental law of man's being—with the ascetical inculcation that it is more perfect to seek contempt. But no Catholic writer ever asserted—what she puts into the mouths of persons unspecified—that this ascetical doctrine is founded "on gratuitous contempt for the feelings, opinions, and affections of our fellow-men." If self-depreciation collides with charity or edification, it has to be avoided; the rare cases to the contrary can all be explained. "And thus," in Miss Petre's favourite phrase, St. Francis of Assisi need not be explained away by calling him a poet. It is the chapter on "Self-will and Freedom" that most clearly shows how far this writer is from really understanding the teachings of our spiritual writers. The chapter is too long to analyse here, but what she says about obedience may serve as a specimen. "We are sometimes told," she says, "that those who live under the yoke of obedience have this consolation, that they are always sure of doing the will of God in every emergency, and it is tacitly implied that others cannot enjoy the same certainty. But what do these words really mean? Is it not conscience that decides when we are to obey, just as it decides in other cases what line we are to take on our own initiative? If those not under obedience can never be sure of doing the will of God, even when they follow the dictates of conscience, neither can those who obey be sure they are right in obeying. Even from an objective point of view the commands of superiors are not infallibly right" (p. 108). If this sort of thing is to pass, St. Theresa must be revised and corrected. But did anyone ever before propound the sage view that holy obedience secured a man's doing God's will because the directions

of superiors must be infallibly right? Father Tyrrell's preface is interesting and thoughtful, like everything else that he has written. But he should not have encouraged Miss Petre to publish a series of essays full of half-truths and crude philosophy, intended for the Catholic Truth Society.

N.

Lent and Holy Week. By HERBERT THURSTON, S.J. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 8vo. 6s. net. 1903.

THE purpose, as the author says, of this book is to supply a popular account of the external observances peculiar to the season of paschal preparation. Portions of the work have already appeared in the *Month* and in the C.T.S. publications. It may be said at once that Fr. Thurston has written a most interesting and instructive volume, and the few remarks on pancakes and Easter eggs make one wish he had given us further information on popular customs. Where all is so well worth perusal it is difficult to make selections. We are well acquainted with the dispute as to whether certain kinds of aquatic birds are or are not allowed on abstinence days, but one does not hear now such reasons urged in favour of the permission as were brought forward in ancient days. Socrates is quoted as saying that some eat birds as well as fish because, according to the Mosaic account of the creation, they sprang from the water like fish. The account given by the Welshman, Gerald Barri, is still more extraordinary. It was thought formerly that barnacle geese derived their origin from a crustacean, but Barri says they are engendered from fir trees tossed along the sea and are at first like gum. He goes on to say that bishops and clergymen in some parts of Ireland do not scruple to dine off these birds at the time of fasting because they are not flesh nor born of flesh. The reason given to show that these people are guilty of sin is that the same reason would authorise them to dine off a leg of Adam, who was not born of flesh. It is devoutly to be hoped that Fr. Thurston's account of the ancient Palm Sunday ceremonial will have some effect towards putting an end to that barbarous custom, but too often met with, of leaving out the procession—its most distinctive feature. If we must find fault with something or other, let us take the matter of the price and tilt at that. Six shillings net is a figure which

will prevent many of the clergy as well as the laity from investing in a work replete with information on the most important period of the ecclesiastical year.

D. I.

Sketches for Sermons : For Sundays and Holy Days of the Year. By Rev. R. K. WAKEHAM, S.S., St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie. New York : Joseph S. Wagner. Price \$1 25.

IN these sketches the author makes no attempt to introduce striking novelties or to exploit the results of recent critical and historical Biblical research ; still he does what is more to the purpose towards the end he has in view, and that is to make copious citations from Holy Writ in illustration of the points in the discourses. The ideas which form the points of the sketches are arranged in a very convenient way to assist a priest in the preparation of his own discourse, as their application can be varied at will. The sermon on the resurrection of the body, while excellent on the immediate subject under consideration, affords another proof of the great difficulty of giving people anything like a good idea of the happiness of heaven. A very useful feature in the book is the interleaving, enabling the reader to note his own comments, &c., without disfiguring the margin. We can recommend the book as a help to composing one's own sermons, but not to get them ready-made.

D. I.

Le Code de Bonheur du Maître. Par L'Abbé Th. BESNARD.
Paris : P. Lethielleux.

THIS volume of 240 pages contains nine Lenten conferences on the eight beatitudes. The first conference is on beatitudes in general. The author tells us in his preface that it is the first of a long series of volumes concerned directly with the person of our Lord. *La Prière du Maître*, *l'Évangile du Maître*, *La Personne du Maître*, are titles of some of the volumes to come.

There is much food for thought in the work under consideration. It should be of use for the preparation of discourses on spiritual reading, and still more for the purposes of meditation.

While it is quite true that the explanation of the beatitudes and their application to the daily lives of men cannot be said to be very striking or original, they are, what is more to the purpose, to the point and practical. For instance, as the knowledge of a poet or a painter is obtained through his works, so we have some idea of God from the beauty and magnificence of creation. The revolutionary tyrant Carrier one day said to a Breton peasant: "We are going to pull down your bell-towers and churches." "At all events," replied the peasant, "you will leave us the stars, and with this spelling-book we shall still be able to spell the name of God."

Again in the seventh conference on the clean of heart. In the Tuileries on the 1st of January, 1844, Napoleon, surrounded by his great statesmen and generals, together with the ladies of his Court. On a sofa was the young King of Rome in a peevish and discontented state. "What is the matter?" said his father. "All this pomp; these people worry me; I do not care for anything of this." "What do you want, then?" "I should like to go and play in the mud with those children down there in the street." This, the author shows, is a picture of the state of mind of those who prefer the degrading pleasures of sense to the true happiness of the clean of heart.

D. I.

Apologia pro Vita Sua. By JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN.
London: Longmans, Green and Co. 8vo. Pp. 176. Price
6d. net.

NOW that Anglicans, following the late B. M. Hutton, do not hesitate to admit that the Catholic Newman is the real Newman—a point Dr. Barry, too, brings out in his recent admirable monograph—this history of his religious opinions should be something more to the general reader than that distant reverence—an English classic. For this reason alone a popular edition of the *Apologia* finds grateful acceptance. But there is another reason why we hope Messrs. Longman's enterprise may reap reward. Those who can read fluently, but are not educated, are being subjected to an epidemic of "sixpenny arguments" against Christianity by the Rationalist Press Association. If the Freethinkers thus produced were really free to think, no finer food for thought could come their way than this edition. Neither as literature nor as argument has their

press, so far, shown its equal. And as they are lovers of truth—"all honourable men"—will they not be brave enough to read this damnation of a falsehood? There is, too, another reason why the supporters of the Rationalist Press Association should read this book. One of the latest of its issues is a work of Renan (whose name they do not appear to be able to spell correctly). Neither specialists, both Newman and Renan were products of their century's culture, both philosophers of history. The year and the month in which Renan left Catholicism, Newman joined it. If then their thought is really free let them, having thought out Renan's *Souvenirs de ma Jeunesse*, think out the *Apologia*. They will then be free to compare and contrast Renan's *Future of Science* with Newman's *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*. And then, assessing the philosophies of each, let them choose between the mental frivolity and sentimentalism of the one, and the deep conviction and principles of the other. So, perhaps, in the words left by the one for his own tomb, they may come "ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem."

"Nothing for nothing and very little for sixpence," is a popular saying. But as Messrs. Longmans have given us a great deal for sixpence, it will appear more ungenerous than we mean it to be if we regret they could not include that part of the appendix which answered in detail Kingsley's false charges. We hope that by an instant success the book will encourage its publishers to further ventures in a similar direction.

D. M. O'C.

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Spiritual Despondency and Temptations. Translated from the French of Père F. P. GARESCHÉ, S.J., by the Rev. P. J. MICHEL, S.J. New York, etc.: Benziger Bros. 8vo. Pp. 278. Price 5s.

THE practice of virtue is the science of the saints. Not the least difficult of the many branches of that science is realising the injunction, "Against hope, believe in hope." How enormous its importance may be gauged by St. Jerome's assurance that despair is a greater crime than the treachery of Judas. It is therefore a gratifying fact that another edition of Father Michel's translation of the late Père Garesché's book should have been needed. For although the French theologian's work was more particularly intended for religious communities, his method of applying reason rather than imagination or sentiment to the solution of difficulties will appeal to thoughtful

laymen. We say "of difficulties," because this practised director encourages the full play of the heart wherever faith leads. The understanding once enlightened by reason and aided by faith, he urges the strengthening of the will by every power of the heart.

The reader will not find any fantastic or meretricious experiments on souls in this thoughtful book. The ordinary means, frequent prayer, spiritual reading, repeated examination, and the silence which fosters the spirit of recollection, are its basis; applied with a sobriety of judgment and intimacy with the human heart that a love for souls has made deep and large. Perhaps the chapters on "Imperfect Motives," "Loss of Sensible Devotion," and "Plan of Reading," will offer most matter for a layman's thought. A second reading of the latter chapter will remove some touch of hesitancy a first reading might have left.

Père Garesché is, as a rule, very happy in applying texts. There is one, however, which a little puzzles us. He is laying down the rule of resistance to the temptation, that we shall experience continuous difficulties in the service of God and that our life will be a constant torture and constant battle. He therefore counsels us never to consider collectively what are to be presented to us separately. We are to occupy ourselves with the present duty exclusively: that is, work out the day's trials and not to worry about what may be the morrow's. He then recalls St. Matthew's, "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." No doubt "the bearing of this observation lays in the application of it." But it has almost the appearance of a grain of cockle among the wheat.

D. M. O'C.

Thought Echoes: A Self-thought Sequence from *Wreaths of Song*. By T. J. O'MAHONEY, D.D., D.C.L. Dublin: Gill and Son. New edition with appendix. 8vo, pp. 56. 1904. Price 6d.

THESE verses are deeply philosophical, and require the strong searchlight of a keen intellect to lay bare the meaning of the author. He maintains the existence of "*a priori* synthetical judgments," not in a Kantian sense, but in a way peculiarly his own; and this theory, as he implies in the appendix, may serve as a key to the preceding verse. The subjects dealt with are such as "Being," "Life," "Thought," and "Love." To those, therefore, to whom abstract intellectual puzzling is

congenial, we can recommend these verses, of which the following stanza on "Thought" is a specimen :

" Thought-life is the thoughtless above
As living power to self move
In that it tends for aye to love.
Motion all tends to cease to be :
Thought makes for love's eternity."

F. E. O'H.

Lives of the English Martyrs Declared Blessed by Pope Leo XIII. in 1886 and 1895. Written by Fathers of the Oratory, of the Secular Clergy, and of the Society of Jesus. Completed and edited by DOM BEDE CAMM, O.S.B., of Erdington Abbey. Vol. I., "Martyrs under Henry VIII." London : Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. lxvi.-547. 1904.

WITH the book before us this well-known quarterly series reaches its hundredth volume : and it may be safely said that its promoters could scarcely have found a more noteworthy work to complete the first century of that excellent series. These new lives of our Blessed Martyrs have been in preparation for some years, and many different hands have been engaged in the labour of love which is now happily nearing its completion. When the first decree of Beatification appeared in 1886, it was felt by the Fathers of the London Oratory, who had done much to promote the cause, that a series of authentic lives would be a fit memorial of the newly beatified martyrs. The work was at once taken in hand by the late Father Edward S. Keogh who, in spite of failing health, finished a large number of the lives in a few months. But his labours were too soon cut short by his death in the first year after the Beatification. The late Father Richard Stanton took the place of Father Keogh, but after writing some of the lives he was compelled by old age and failing health to hand over the work to Father John Morris, S.J. The long-delayed cause of the Benedictine Abbots prevented Father Morris from finishing his task, and before that cause was happily concluded he was suddenly removed by the hand of death. Father John Pollen, S.J., who had succeeded Father Morris as postulator, took up the biographical task for a time ; but the presence of other work compelled him to pass it on to the competent hands of the present editor, Dom Bede Camm—a choice which was all the more appropriate since the chief new lives to be treated were those of the Benedictine Monks and Abbots.

It is clear that the long delay in publication and the co-operation of so many different authors and editors were merely the result of death or sickness or other untoward circumstances. *Habent sua fata libelli.* And it certainly seemed that this little book of biography had a singularly hard fate. But though there is some room for regret that the first labourers in the field were not spared to finish their task, it may be well to acknowledge that the work has gained something by this delay in its publication. For fresh records have leapt to light since the first biographies were written and the story may now be told with greater fulness and accuracy. At the same time there is a certain fitness in the fact that this monument to the English martyrs has been built up by the united labours of Oratorians, Secular Priests, Jesuits and Benedictines.

It is true that much of the ground covered in the present work has already been traversed in various historical or controversial publications; and the story of the Tudor persecution has been told many times before now. Some of the more illustrious martyrs have already found a capable biographer in Father Bridgett. The whole subject has been effectively treated in a former work by Father Spellmann, S.J., and some short lives have been separately published by the Catholic Truth Society. None the less, it may safely be said that there was a real need of a work like the present, giving a complete series of sufficiently full and authentic lives of the English martyrs beatified by Pope Leo XIII.

The first volume now before us is confined to those martyrs who suffered under Henry VIII. The second volume, which is already in the press and may be expected very shortly, will contain the roll of those who died in the days of Elizabeth; and it is hoped that these may eventually be followed by a third volume, giving an account of the lives of those venerable martyrs who are not yet beatified. The martyrs whose lives are recorded in the present volume are just forty in number. As some of these are grouped together, the tale of separate biographies is reduced to fifteen, which are the work of five writers in all. Of these biographies no less than ten were written by the two Oratorian Fathers who began the series. Father Keogh, the originator of the work, is responsible for six—to wit, the lives of the Carthusians, of the Bridgettine, Blessed Richard Reynolds, and of Blessed Margaret, Countess of Salisbury. Father Stanton contributes the lives of Cardinal Fisher, of Blessed John

Stone, of Augustine Friar, of the two Secular Priests, Blessed John Haile and John Clarke, and of the layman Blessed German Gardiner. Father Morris has left two very interesting biographies, those of Blessed John Forest, the Franciscan, and of Sir Adrian Fortescue. The first of these was practically rewritten by Father Pollen, S.J., who is also responsible for the lives of the Secular Priests, Blessed Thomas Abel, Edward Powell and Richard Fetherston.

The editor, Dom Bede Camm, pays a just tribute to his predecessors and speaks of his own part with becoming modesty. But it is clear that his share in the work is more considerable than might be gathered from the title page or from his language. For besides writing the historical and theological introduction and correcting, if not re-writing, some of the earlier lives, he has himself contributed no less than five biographies. And two of these—the lives of Blessed Thomas More and of the Benedictine Abbots—contain some of the most deeply interesting pages in the volume.

It is clear that care has been taken to secure the greatest possible accuracy. In many instances the statements accepted by earlier biographers are now set right by the help of fresh and more authentic evidence. As might be expected, we are furnished with a critical account of the chief authorities for each of the biographies; and an extensive use has been made of the official publications and the numerous MSS. documents which are now accessible to historical students.

The book is also marked by another quality not less necessary than scientific accuracy of statement. No attempt is made to gloss over or palliate the widespread defection of English churchmen and religious in the day of trial; and the momentary weakness of those who afterwards became martyrs is set forth with commendable candour. On this point the editor is able to print some painful documents that throw a strange light on the "fears of the brave and follies of the wise" in the Tudor reign of terror.

To the writers already mentioned we must add the name of the late Mr. Aubrey de Vere, for a fine sonnet which he addresses to the English martyrs appears as an appropriate dedication of the volume. Some readers will be reminded of another sonnet in which his master—Wordsworth—has enshrined the names of More and Fisher.

While we congratulate Dom Bede Camm on the successful

accomplishment of the first part of his arduous task, we may express a hope that he may soon have the satisfaction of completing this worthy monument to the English martyrs.

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W. H. K.

The New Testament in Modern Speech. By the late RICHARD FRANCIS WEYMOUTH. Second edition (twenty-first thousand). London: James Clarke and Co. Crown 8vo, 674 pp. Cloth, gilt top. 2s. 6d. net.

THIS is an attempt on the part of a non-Catholic scholar to satisfy those of his co-religionists who want a "Vulgate for the Vulgar," as a Punjab auxiliary puts it. The translation of the Bible into everyday language is felt to be a necessity if twenty-one millions of English folk are to hear the Gospel intelligently. The stiff literalness of the Revised Version and the archaic English of the Authorised fail to reach the heart of the people, if we may believe the British and Foreign Bible Society's *Monthly Report*, March and June, 1903. Dr. Weymouth's translation is intended to simplify Bible reading. It claims to be in no sense a revision, but a *bonâ fide* translation made directly from the Greek. The text used is that edited by the learned translator himself and known as "The Resultant Greek Testament." In a clear and interesting preface Dr. Weymouth states the problem he has endeavoured to solve: "The sense . . . ascertained, the next step has been to consider how it would be most accurately and naturally exhibited in the English of the present day." Whatever doubts may have existed as to the judiciousness of the translator's scheme, they would seem to have vanished on the appearance of the volume, which has been received with a chorus of praise by the highest Anglican and Nonconformist authorities. "A compressed running commentary" is a fair description of this work, which is always marked by reverence, good taste and adequate scholarship. The text is accompanied by notes, grammatical and explanatory. Catholics will turn with interest to the Petrine texts in Matt. xvi., Luke xxii. and John xxi. The transparent honesty of the translator will gratify them. Text and note (John ii. 4) show Dr. Weymouth to have been no Mariophobist. Though primarily intended for Protestants, *The New Testament in Modern Speech* deserves a place on every Biblical student's table.

G. H.

- (1) **Our Lady's Psalter: a Rosary of Psalms.** Newly translated from the Latin Vulgate, with a brief Introduction. 1d.
- (2) **A City Set on a Hill.** By ROBERT HUGH BENSON, M.A. 3d.
- (3) **Catholics and Freemasonry.** 1d.
- (4) **Simple Meditations on the Life of Our Lord.** By the Right Rev. JOSEPH OSWALD SMITH, O.S.B., Abbot of Ampleforth. 6d. London: Catholic Truth Society.

TWO excellent points in favour of the *Rosary of Psalms* are, first, the appropriateness of those selected to the mysteries with which they are linked, and secondly, the easy and scholarly rendering of the Psalms themselves.

The acrimonious tone in which our non-Catholic contemporary *The Church Times* noticed *A City Set on a Hill*, led us to expect that Mr. Benson would have something to say worth listening to. We were not mistaken. This little book is made up of three chapters, entitled, "Requirements of the Church's Life and Efficiency," "Various Theories of Catholicism," and "The Roman Catholic Theory of Catholicism." The writer does not pretend "that what appears cogent [to him] must necessarily appear convincing to others"; but these pages will be found to contain thoughts useful and suggestive for both those within and those without *The City Set on a Hill*.

With the names of Leo Taxil and "Diana Vaughan" still ringing in our ears, we have some hesitation in touching the Freemason question except on the broad lines adopted by the Holy See. These are the lines followed by the writer of this handy pamphlet. Leaving aside grips and passwords and pretended secrets, he sticks to three main issues and shows that Freemasonry, even in England, is rightly condemned by the Church because it ignores Christianity, compels its adepts to break the Second Commandment by taking a rash and unnecessary oath and repudiates the principle of Christian Charity. Pages 7-11 contain an indictment of Freemasonry which should satisfy the most incredulous as to its lawlessness.

The Abbot of Ampleforth has done a bold thing in adding to our stock of meditation books big and small. That his contribution is a valuable one those will best be able to judge who know how imperfectly meditation is taught in many a school and in many a novitiate. In the five pages of his modest intro-

duction the Benedictine Monk has compressed more precious lessons on the Science of Prayer than may be found in many cumbersome tomes. By a luminous division every meditation is brought well within the powers of all "men of goodwill," whether these be found in the world or in the cloister. These short Meditations make us long for more from the wholesome source of sane English devotion.

G. H.

The Titles of the Psalms : Their nature and meaning explained.

By JAMES WILLIAM THIRTLE. London, Edinburgh, etc. : Henry Frowde. Crown 8vo., cloth. Pp. 394. 1904. Price 6s. net.

THIS work is another proof of the interest which attaches to the "Divine Library" in days when flippant criticism and frivolous reading would seem to destroy even the power of thinking seriously. The title is not a fascinating one. It may even deter practical-minded students from dipping into the book. Little success has attended research in the field of Psalm titles. "Scholars have been content to follow one another in the weary iteration of views largely based upon conjecture." These failures notwithstanding, Mr. Thirtle has ventured upon a fresh investigation and propounds a new treatment of the Psalm titles. Whether all his readers will agree with his theories or with his conclusions may be controverted, still his book will repay study. He has succeeded in investing a stale theme with freshness and has brought new lights to play upon a very dark and mysterious question. Much of the confusion and apparent pointlessness of the Psalm titles our authority ingeniously attributes to the displacement of certain lines from the *conclusion* of one psalm to the *beginning* of the next. This "unfortunate error" is remedied in this edition of the Psalms. From other titles our author makes up a Psalter calendar. We cannot say that he always carries us with him in his hypotheses. Some chapters are more convincing than others, but the whole book shows evident signs of high scholarship, a well-balanced mind and a reverent and minute acquaintance with the sacred text. It is a contribution to Biblical literature which we gladly welcome and recommend to our budding doctors in Holy Scripture. Half the volume is

taken up with the Book of Psalms (according to the Revised Version), with titles discriminated and briefly explained.

G. H.

Sinai, Ma'an, Petra: sur les traces d'Israël et chez les Nabatéens. Par ADELAÏDE SARGENTON-GALICHON. Paris: Lecoffre. 8vo, pp. 305. 1904.

THIS book contains the diary of a journey taken across the Sinaitic Peninsula by a band of pilgrims under the guidance of a Dominican father. The writer seems to have been inspired to make this journey by the example of Sylvia of Aquitaine whose journal is constantly referred to. From a religious, scientific and literary point of view, the results of Madame Sargenton-Galichon's pilgrimage are deserving of attention. There is no Baedeker-cum-Murray style about her writing, which is limped with all the limpidity of the best French and as fresh as her experiences are varied and uncommon. Besides the ancient Christian traveller mentioned above, later explorers, Burkhardt, de Laborde, de Vogüé, Beer, Palmer, Tischendorf, Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, are evidently well-known to our pilgrim. What gives special value to this entertaining book is the solid erudition betrayed rather than revealed by its author. All her modesty cannot conceal the perfect acquaintance which this French Catholic lady possesses of all that earlier travellers have told us about the geography, history, archæology and epigraphy of the regions she has explored. Her sketch alone of that brilliant and ephemeral people, the Nabatéens, whose inscriptions cover the rocks of Sinai, will convince the reader that he is in the presence of a remarkably intellectual woman. The whole volume is one of the most fascinating that has been composed on a subject that never wearies.

G. H.

L'Evangile selon Saint Jean. Traduction critique. Introduction et commentaire. Par le P. TH. CALMES. Paris: Lecoffre. 8vo, pp. xvi.-485. 1904.

THIS imposing volume does credit to its author, his order, and to ecclesiastical studies in France. Partly composed while Fr. Calmes was teaching Scripture at the Rouen Seminary, it was completed at the Biblical school attached to

the Convent of St. Stephen, Jerusalem. The work bears upon its face marks which should recommend it to the intelligent student—the technical experience of a professor and the colouring of the very land in which the Gospel scenes are laid. With scholar-like precision and definiteness the author begins with two pages of names of commentators ancient and modern, most of the latter being Germans. After an exhaustive list of abbreviations and sigla, an ingenious map of the writer's own invention permits us to take in at one glance the principal documents on which depends the text of the fourth Gospel. A luminous and very readable introduction extending through eighty pages clearly sets forth the general character, theology and style of this Gospel, its relation to the synoptical Gospels, its authorship, its composition, its time and place of publication, the author's object, its historical value and its plan. The prologue (I. 1-18) occupies sixty-four pages and does not contain a useless or irrelevant line. The erudite commentator shows that he has felt all that is involved in these opening verses and that he has read the latest writings of those who have dealt with this preface—Loisy, Resch, Baldensperger, etc. Holding in his hand the thread with which theology provides him, Fr. Calmes makes his way through the maze that has grown around this part of St. John's Gospel; and, while paying respect to the ripe scholarship and enlightened views of the apostles of the higher criticism, he does not hesitate modestly to express and justify his dissent from their opinions and theories where he considers these are untenable. Passing through the prologue to the body of the Gospel, the writer divides his subject into two parts: (a) from the testimony of the Baptist down to the Passion; (b) from the beginning of the Passion down to the Resurrection inclusively. The twenty-first chapter forms an appendix. In the first part we would direct the attention of our readers to the masterly treatment of the episodes connected with the Samaritan woman and the woman taken in adultery. The chapters on the Eucharistic teaching contain a wealth of light, suggestion and well-balanced argumentation. Taken with the pages on the resurrection of Lazarus, they suffice to expose all the trickery and the hollowness of Renan's romancing in his pretentious *Life of Christ*. The author deals fairly with the question, "Who was Mary Magdalen?" and sets down in parallel columns the ordinary or disordered and what may be called the restored and re-arranged text from xviii. 14 to xviii. 27. His dissertation

on the Resurrection and on the concluding chapter is a model of expository language and of honest criticism. With an index of proper names and another of Scriptural passages quoted in the work, this valuable contribution to Biblical studies is brought to a close. It bears the imprimatur of the Master of the Sacred Palace.

G. H.

Opera Omnia Thomae Hemerken à Kempis. Voluminibus septem. Edidit praemissoque volumine de Vita et Scriptis ejusdem disputavit, MICHAEL JOS. POHL. 12mo. 1902. 1904.

FOR many reasons a cordial welcome will be given on all sides to this new edition of the works of the greatest of the ascetical writers of the Catholic Church. Complete editions of the writings of Thomas à Kempis are exceedingly rare, and the teeming wealth of piety left to the faithful by the author of the *Imitation* is to a large extent unavailable. A new edition was projected in the sixties, the first volume of which was published; but since the edition was professedly uncritical, it was as well that it terminated abruptly.

As therefore existing editions of the *Opera Omnia* are scarce, as moreover none give the writings of the great master in their entirety, and as all are below the critical exigences of the times, a new edition was undoubtedly called for.

The occasion of the present edition was the example and enthusiasm of a devout mother, whose one spiritual book was the *Imitation of Christ*. How the idea took definite shape may best be told in the words of the editor :

“Quae cum ita essent, factum est, ut anno MDCCCLXXXVIII. cura gymnasii Kempensis regendi ad me deferretur. Tum vero ego in tanti viri urbe patria condicione quaestionis Thomaeae in universum cognita libros circumspicere, undecumque comparare, lectitare, codices conferre, virorum doctorum rei peritorum notitiam epistularumque commercium quaerere, itinera facere, ne multa : de Thoma per multos annos dies noctesque sciscitari, commentari, non sine aliorum interdum molestia sermocinari. Ita consilium operum omnium illius edendorum subortum est ” (II., p. 485).

The object in view has been the exact reproduction of the words of the author :

"Itaque hoc unum mihi propositum erat, ut Thomae archetypum quam fidelissime repraesentarem, atque ita quidem, ut expectationi et asceticorum et philologorum responderem" (*Ib.* 479).

He has toiled with a persistency and unsparing minuteness which do honour even to one who belongs to a race of scholars. He has sought to accomplish the desired object of a perfect edition by the most careful study of all the existing autographs, by comparison of the best manuscript copies, hitherto unknown or overlooked, and by the help of the best printed editions, especially that of Utrecht, published in 1473.

The rule of reproduction has been to set down neither title, nor word, nor division, nor comma, nor even spelling, except such as contained in the original. Whenever this rule is departed from the departure is governed by definite principles of criticism, which are explained with fulness and accuracy in the *Epilegomena*.

The reader will at once remark certain constant differences from previous editions with which he may have been familiar, in the matter of punctuation, spelling and arrangement of the text. As a case in point, we may instance the new edition of the *Imitation*. The title *De Imitatione Christi* is explained to be an adaptation, the order of the books is changed, the suggestive sub-titles will be new to the reader, the familiar paragraphs are discarded and the all but universal division into verses is repudiated. The chapters, however, remain, and references are facilitated by the numbering of the lines in the margin.

The edition will consist of eight volumes in 12mo, of handy form, and neatly printed on good paper. The lines on every page are numbered, and each volume contains the appropriate *Epilegomena* and *apparatus criticus*.

The order in which the volumes have been appearing is not a little puzzling; but the key to the puzzle is supplied in the Preface to Vol. II., where the editor explains that when he first conceived the idea of bringing out a critical edition he consulted the publisher Herder on the subject, and it was arranged that a specimen volume should appear containing the *Orationes et Meditationes de Vita Christi*. This was given to the public in 1902, by whom it was remarkably well received. The volume was then incorporated into the general plan as the fifth volume

of a series of eight. The arrangement of the volumes and treatises follows the order of the list of works of Thomas à Kempis drawn up within seventeen years of his death. The order of publication, however, is different. The contents of Vol. V. were of the nature of an experiment. Subsequent volumes are published on the plan of dealing earliest with those treatises the originals of which are still in existence, and later with the other works. Amongst those of which the originals are preserved the first place is justly assigned to the incomparable *Imitation*.

Three volumes have already been published, namely: Vol. V. (1902). *Tractatum asceticorum partem quintam complectens: Orationes et Meditationes de Vita Christi*.

Vol. II. (1904). *Tractatum asceticorum partem alteram complectens: De Imitatione Christi cum novem tractatulis*.

Vol. III. (1904). *Tractatum asceticorum partem tertiam complectens: Meditatio de Incarnatione Christi. Sermones de Vita et Passione Domini*.

The remaining volumes will be published in the following order: Vol. VI.: *Sermones ad novicios. Vita Lidevignis virginis*. Vol. I., *Sermons IX. ad fratres, etc.* Vol. IV., Ten short Treatises and Letters. Vol. VII. *Dialogus noviciorum*. Three Biographies. *Chronicon montis S. Agnetis*. Vol. VIII. *De Thomae Hemerken à Kempis, Canonici Regularis Ordinis S. Augustini, Vita et Scriptis disputavit Michael Jos. Pohl*.

The three volumes now before us include text, Epilogomena, appropriate bibliographies, and minute textual criticism. Vol. II. contains the short Preface to the entire edition.

The arrangement of the *apparatus criticus* differs slightly in the first volume published (namely, the fifth of the series) as compared with that of Vols. II. and III., where precisely the same lines of investigation are followed. First comes the bibliography; next, the lists of original manuscripts, manuscript copies and printed editions. The treatment of the original manuscripts is a finished piece of minute, systematic and scholarly work. Their history is related, the appearance of the MSS. described in every particular, the handwriting is analysed, the excellences, defects and irregularities of orthography and Latinity are enumerated and classified, the question of genuineness is briefly touched upon, and finally the exact degree is explained in which the present edition reproduces the original of Thomas à Kempis.

"Quae proposita inter se aliquantum contraria ita consequi studui, ut et quaecumque nil nisi pietatis adfectus in legendo sectantes turbare possent, e contextu orationis tollerem, neque quicquam mutarem, cujus non in epilogomensis aut in adnotatione critica accuratissime ratio redderetur" (II., p. 479).

In the *Adnotatio Critica* is supplied a minute examination of peculiarities of the text. Finally, we have the tables of reference to passages of Scripture; and, in the case of the Imitation, to the Fathers and the classical writers of antiquity. Vols. II. and III. contain many photographic reproductions of the original text.

Of the writings themselves we need not say anything. We merely bring before the notice of our readers the appearance of an edition which out-distances all others, and is worthy of being placed side by side with the best examples of a literary criticism which is one of the glories of our age. Vols. V., II. and III. are concerned mainly with Christ our Lord. In various forms, Meditation, Instruction or Prayer, the God-man is set before the devout reader in prophetic foreshadowing: in His Incarnation, Life, Passion, Death, Resurrection, Appearances, and Ascension. There are also some delightful little ascetical treatises dealing sometimes with simple matters and daily duties, and sometimes with the loftiest themes. We will conclude this notice with the opening passage of the treatise, *De Elevatione Mentis ad Inquirendum Summum Bonum*:

"*Vacate et Videte Quoniam ego sum Deus. Ecce inquiri te Deus meus non per sensus corporeos, neque per sensibiles imagines sed in me super rationes intellectuales; ubi tu lucas intellectui meo veritas aeterna bonitas immensa incomprehensibilis claritas, omnem creaturae comprehensionem excedens, omnem aciem mentis reperiens, et super omnes coele caelestes spiritus secundum quidditatem te incognite servans: et tamen secundum cujuslibet beati spiritus capacitatem te totum communicans, atque omnibus et singulis infinitam deitatis tuae gloriam et superessentialem naturae tuae substantiam manifestans*" (II., p. 399).

H. P.

Exposition de la Morale Catholique : La Béatitude. Conférences et Retraite. Carême 1903. Par E. JANVIER. Paris : Lethielleux. Pp. 360.

EVERYONE is acquainted with the colossal grandeur of the work inaugurated by Lacordaire, and continued with such success by Ravignan, Félix, Monsabré, Ollivier. The Conferences of Notre-Dame de Paris are the high-water mark of popular exposition of Catholic doctrine in the face of the world. To be named preacher of the Lent at the Cathedral Church of Paris is perhaps the *ne plus ultra* of recognition that can be shown to the religious orator in France.

Père Janvier has collected in this volume the conferences he delivered in Notre-Dame during the Lent of 1903, and the five Instructions given during Holy Week in preparation for the Paschal Communion, together with the concluding address on Easter morning. The subject of all the discourses is the foundation of morality, or the aim of human life. It is divided into two sections : the Conferences, in which the speculative aspects of the doctrine are chiefly presented ; and the Instructions, in which the more concrete and practical aspects are set forth. Again, the Conferences deal rather with positive questions, namely, the existence of beatitude, its oneness, its object (which is the infinite nature of God), the manner of its possession, the means by which we may attain it, and its all-satisfying fulness. The Instructions keep in view the enticements by which man is allured from the steady pursuit of the one true object of his existence, such as wealth, power and authority, pleasure, knowledge, or as it is now called education, and the glory of a great name. The special subject of the Paschal discourse is : The Holy Communion as a divinely appointed means of obtaining true blessedness.

As an example of tranquil exposition a paragraph near the beginning of the Instruction, *La Science et la Béatitude*, may be cited :

“ Il ne faudrait pas croire que cet enthousiasme pour la science fut spécial à notre siècle : toutes les générations ont été travaillées par le même souci ; jamais peut-être l'effort n'a été plus colossal que dans les académies de la Grèce, ou dans les universités du moyen âge.

“ Mais notre temps, il faut l'avouer, a eu la préoccupation, non pas seulement de la science, il a encore entrepris de faire participer tout le monde à ses révélations.

" Il n'est pas douteux que la science ne fasse partie de notre bonheur ; c'en est un élément si capital, que nous avons établi, dans la vision de Dieu, l'essence de la béatitude suprême.

" Si rien n'est achevé sur la terre, tout commence, la science et la vertu, et par conséquent, dans la même mesure, la félicité " (p. 245).

The world is as worldly as ever ; even persons with a tincture of religion are perhaps more disposed than were the same class a generation ago to make themselves in all things comfortable, while outsiders both consciously and unconsciously insist, with an exclusiveness that is appalling to the serious Christian, on the pleasurable, refined and cultured realities of our actual existence. When all this is so true, the distinguished *conférencier* has merited the gratitude of his hearers or readers for his choice of subject.

The fibre of the book is tough and tightly woven ; and if there be fewer of the magnificent flights of oratory than one meets with in the pages of Lacordaire, the Conferences of Père Janvier are more likely to produce definite conviction and a permanent impression. Referring particularly to the Conferences, we have been struck by their temperate modernity of tone. In no point have we observed a divergence from the *communis opinio* of experts. The preacher professedly grounds his teaching on acknowledged masters, but in his preface and notes he reveals the extent of his acquaintance with modern thought in its many forms. We have never found him technical or out of touch with his hearers or unmindful of the controversies and difficulties of the hour. This is the real merit of the book. It exhibits the traditional teaching with fulness of detail, depth of insight, and plainness of language. We feel sure the book will be of good service to the professor, as a guide ; to the student, as a commentary ; and to the educated layman, as a satisfying book of information. We will take one specimen of his method of animated amplification. The passage occurs in the Conference entitled *La Volupté et la Béatitude* :

" Et quand une fois l'âme a écouté la voix des sirènes, quelle énergie et quelle grâce ne lui sont pas nécessaires pour s'arracher à ces charmes troublants. Puis, si elle cède à son penchant un certain nombre de fois, bientôt l'habitude et la passion du plaisir envahissent tout son être ; elles hantent la pensée, elles remplissent l'imagination, elles sont dans le cœur, dans les yeux, dans les oreilles, sur les lèvres ; elles pénètrent le sang, les os, et jusqu'aux moelles. Une lumière, une harmonie, un souvenir, une

espérance, suffisent à nous transporter, à nous ramener toujours vers les objets de notre désir. Et plus on s'abandonne à la passion de la volupté, plus l'âme s'irrite, s'exaspère, devient insatiable" (p. 227).

H. P.

Rosa Mystica: The Fifteen Mysteries of the Most Holy Rosary, and other Joys, Sorrows and Glories of Mary. By KENELM DIGBY BEST, of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. London: R. and T. Washbourne. 4to, pp. xxii.-279. 1904. Price 15s. net.

THIS beautiful work, a tribute to the Blessed Virgin whose joys, sorrows and glories it commemorates, appears at an opportune time, for the year 1904 is the Jubilee Year of the Definition of the Immaculate Conception and Christians, the world over, are preparing to celebrate it in a manner worthy of the great truth the dogma signifies. Father Best's book will be of no small service to those who acquire it. Beautifully illustrated and elegantly produced, its 279 pages are full of solid teaching and devotional fervour. They are in the highest degree calculated to increase—or awaken if need be—that tender devotion to our Blessed Lady which is at the same time the comfort and the mainstay of every true Catholic heart. The author has laboured earnestly and well, and his publisher has succeeded in producing a volume worthy of the subject which it treats. We wish the book every success, and trust, with a very well-grounded hope, that it will find a generous welcome among all Catholics, who cannot fail to derive much profit from its pages.

C. S. B.

Concerning the Holy Bible: Its use and abuse. By the Right Rev. Mgr. JOHN S. VAUGHAN. Second thousand. London: R. and T. Washbourne. 1904. Pp. xiv.-269 (no alphabetical index). Price 3s. 6d. net.

THE publication of these thirteen treatises on the Holy Scriptures, forming a popular "Introduction," is due to a wish of His Eminence Cardinal Logue, after reading some newspaper reports on Mgr. Vaughan's discourses. The Cardinal, after reading the corrected proofs, writes to the author: "Your

book furnishes quite sufficient knowledge, on leading points, to enable the people to read the Sacred Text with intelligence, appreciation and reverence. Though you evidently aim at conveying this knowledge in the simplest and most popular form, still no one can read your Discourses without feeling that they are the fruit of earnest and extensive study." If any more recommendations were demanded we might allude to the fact that permission has been asked of the author to translate his book into French, Italian and Dutch. Preachers and lecturers will find the work useful for explaining difficult points, or for illustrating the history of the Sacred Text.

The chapters on Translation (I.), Private Judgment (III.), Necessity of Tradition (the written and unwritten word, IV.), Inspiration (X.), are extremely well done, though it is perhaps unfair to single them out. The book deserves success and hardly anyone will read it without pleasure or profit.

L. N.

We have received a HANDY MANUAL OF PONTIFICAL CEREMONIES, by P. FRANCIS MERSHMAN, O.S.B. (Freiburg : HERDER. 12mo. Pp. 275. 1904). It is, as its title implies, a handy little work, well printed and well bound ; and it should prove useful to the Master of Ceremonies and to the Sacristan. There are several minor inaccuracies which should be noted, in which the "Manual" does not follow the *Caerimoniale Episcoporum* ; and we regret the use of rather mystifying abbreviations. Apart from these slight defects the book can be recommended.

In the translation, by the REV. W. M'LOUGHLIN, of Don Antonio de Capmany's PHILOSOPHY OF ELOQUENCE (Dublin : DUFFY & Co. 8vo. Pp. xxviii.-318. 1903), we have an old, and once well-known, work in a new dress. It is not altogether easy to see why it has been published in this form, especially after a perusal of the long-winded preface. What the intimate connection between the Gaelic language and Don Antonio's work upon oratory is will be for the reader to discover.

Messrs. Benziger offer a LIFE OF PIUS X., with a preface by Cardinal Gibbons, to every subscriber to their *Family Magazine*. While some criticism of such a method of selling a periodical or getting rid of a book might conceivably be made, we have little but praise for the gift-book itself.

The illustrations, letterpress and binding are quite good.

Something over two hundred and fifty portraits and pictures contribute to the interest which the sketch of the life of the late Pontiff, the story of the Conclave and the history of the reigning Pope, awake in the mind of the reader.

The author of *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement* is responsible for *THE JESUITS IN GREAT BRITAIN* (London: ROUTLEDGE). Mr. Walter Walsh apparently hopes to be taken seriously by his readers; but he has made a slip in his preface. "The Protestant Indictment against the Order" would have been a far more accurate title to his elucubration than the one which he has elected to prefix. This book is not calculated to do much harm, unless it is to those who wish to believe everything that is bad about the members of the Society. These it may mislead. It accentuates Mr. Walsh's reputation.

With charming frankness Mr. H. G. WELLS, in the preface to *MANKIND IN THE MAKING* (London: CHAPMAN & HALL. 8vo. Pp. 429. 1903. 7s. 6d.), tells us that he is "remarkably not qualified to assume an authoritative tone in these matters." "He has had quite frankly to jerry-build here and there." We are inclined to agree with him, and infinitely prefer him in his wilder flights of imagination, when, instead of the figures of the statician, he offers us pretty tales. Quasi scientific work is rarely of interest—but, there are pictures on pp. 153-4 which the author's perhaps unconscious humour has not denied to us in company with his speculations on the great problems connected with ourselves in the making.

A dozen stories well told are the *CHRONICLES OF SEMPERTON*, by JOSEPH CARMICHAEL (London: C. T. S.) Simple in incident and prettily worded, they ought to meet generally with the commendation given to them by the author's niece—that they are "most awfully interesting."

BENZIGER BROTHERS have sent us the following tales, of which they are publishing not a few. *THE STRONG ARM OF AVALON*, by MARY T. WAGGAMAN, has to do with the old colonial days—a period that more by more seems to claim the attention of the writer and the interest of the reader. It is a good Catholic story, full of vivid description and fine imagination.

THE FATAL BEACON takes us to one of the small principalities of Germany. Scene, characters and incidents are novel, and the tale affords us no little interest from the freshness of its setting and types. The author, F. VON BRACKEL, one fancies, is writing of his home.

LILIAN MACK'S *TWO LITTLE GIRLS* is dedicated to the children of the Catholic schools, and is well suited to amuse them in their moments of recreation. Its characters are little citizens of the United States, and their doings incidentally throw light on the social differences between their country and our own. The book certainly ought to interest the juvenile readers for whom it was written.

KIND HEARTS AND CORONETS, by J. HARRISON, is a character study, in which the course of the incidents is directed by the conflict and contrast between strong types of humanity. Principle and faith run counter to family pride and worldly self-interest; and one can easily picture the South Carolina home, where the scene is laid, and the violent Southern passions awakened in the crisis of the plot.

Another Southern tale, but of a vastly different character, is *THE HALDEMAN CHILDREN*, in which MARY E. MANNIX portrays the virtues of the negro race. It is, of course, written in "coloured" dialect; and shows how Nancy, brought in as a chance help to aid in a domestic emergency, ends by mothering the orphan brood and taking them to her warm heart.

In *THE GREAT CAPTAIN*, KATHERINE TYNAN HINGSTON allows Sir Walter Raleigh to re-enact for us some of the passages of his stormy life. It is a tale of adventure, peril and exploration; and only needs the name of its author to recommend it.

English boys will be glad to read the story of *THE YOUNG COLOR GUARD*, a little bugler in one of the United States regiments in Cuba. Miss MARY G. BONESTEEL is both patriotic and interesting in her chronicling of the adventures of "Tommy Collins," the hero.

A chance meeting in a railway train, a misapprehension and its eventual removal to let mutual sympathy have free play, such are the slight materials from which the first tale in "*WANTED—A SITUATION*," by ISABEL NIXON WHITELEY (Freiburg: HERDER. 1904), is woven. The plot is just sufficient for the structure it supports, and the result is a graceful comedy of society, slight but artistic. The remaining tales are of much the same order.

Books Received.

Theologiae Dogmaticae Institutiones. Auctore P. Mannens, S.T.D. Ruræmundæ : J. J. Romen. 1901-2-3. Three Vols., pp. 488, 512, 779 ($9\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$). 7s. 6d.

Biblische Zeitschrift. Nerausgegeben von Dr. Joh. Göttberger und Dr. Jos. Sickenberger. II. Jahrgang. 3 Heft. Freiburg : Herder. 1904. (9 by 6).

Biblische Studien, ix. Band, 1-3 Heft. Das Buch Job. Von Joseph Hontheim, S.J. Freiburg : Herder. 1904. Pp. vii.-365 (9 by 6). 8 Mark.

Studies Contributed to the "Dublin Review." By the late Dr. J. R. Gasquet. Edited by Dom H. N. Birt, O.S.B. Westminster : Art and Book Company. 1904. Pp. xi.-349 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5). 4s. net.

A Life of Pope St. Gregory the Great. Written by a Monk of the Monastery of Whitby (Circ. 713). Now for the first time fully printed from MS. Gallen, 567, by Francis Aidan Gasquet, D.D. Westminster : Art and Book Company. 1904. Pp. x.-46 ($10\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$). 2s. net.

The Commission of H.M.S. "Amphion," 1900-1904. By G. C. Watson, R.M.L.I. London : Westminster Press. 1904. Pp. 119 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$). 4s. net.

La Plus Ancienne Décrétale. Par E. Ch. Babut. Paris : Société Nouvelle. 1904. Pp. 87 (9 by $5\frac{1}{2}$).

Vie Intime de Pie X. Par C. Albin de Cigala. Paris : Lethielleux. Pp. 384 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$).

- La Bienheureuse Jeanne de Lestonnac** ("Les Saints"). 1556-1640. Par R. Couzard. Paris: Lecoffre. 1904. Pp. 220 ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$).
- L'Afrique Chrétienne.** Par Dom H. Leclercq. Paris: Lecoffre. 1904. Tome premier, pp. xlv.-435: Tome second, pp. 380 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$).
- The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament.** By Arthur S. Peake, M.A. London: Bryant. 1904. Pp. xv.-197 (8 by 5). 2s. 6d.
- Scientific Order and Law as traced by the Method of Christ.** By John Coutts. London: National Hygienic Company. 1904. Pp. 520 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$).
- Public Interests; or, Trade Aggrandisement.** By John Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell. London: King and Son. 1904. Pp. vii.-182 ($8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$). 1s. net.
- Le Néo-Criticisme de Charles Renouvier.** Par E. Janssens. Louvain: Institut Supérieur. 1904. Pp. viii.-318 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 3.50 francs.
- P. Angelo Secchi.** Von Dr. Joseph Pohle. Köln: Bachem. 1904. Pp. xv.-288 (9 by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 4 Mark.
- Le Concile de Turin, 417-450** (Bibliothèque de la Fondation Thiers). Fascicule vi. Par E. Ch. Babut. Paris: Picard et Fils. 1904. Pp. xi.-313 (9 by $5\frac{1}{2}$).
- Napoleon's British Visitors and Captives. 1801-1815.** By John Goldworth Alger. Westminster: Constable and Co. 1904. Pp. viii.-342 (9 by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 8s. 6d. net.
- Steps to the Temple, Delights of the Muses, and other Poems.** By Richard Crashaw. Text edited by A. R. Waller. Cambridge University Press. 1904. Pp. x.-402 (8 by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 4s. 6d. net.
- Prayer Book for Religious.** By Rev. F. X. Lasance. New York: Benziger Bros. 1904. Pp. 1155 ($6\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$). \$1.50.
- La Sainte Religieuse: Instructions sur les Grandeurs et les Obligations de la vie Religieuse.** Par Mgr. Etienne Lelong. Second Edition. Paris: P. Téqui. 1904. Pp. 423 ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$). 4 francs.

The Life of Ven. Gabriel of Our Lady of Sorrows. By the Rev. Nicholas Ward, C.P. London: Burns and Oates. 1904. Pp. 277 ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by 5). 2s. 6d.

La Piété chez les Jeunes (Conférences). Par Auguste Texier, prêtre. Paris: P. Téqui. 1904. Pp. viii.-416 ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$). 3.50 francs.

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A Dictionary of the Bible. Extra Volume, containing Articles, Indexes, and Maps. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D.; with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1904. Pp. xiii.-936 (11 by $7\frac{3}{4}$). 28s.

Some Popular Historical Fallacies Examined. Part II. By the Author of "The Religion of St. Augustine." London: Burns and Oates. Pp. 37 ($8\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 1s.

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- General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures.** By Rev. Francis E. Gigot, S.S., D.D. Abridged Edition. New York, etc.: Benziger Bros. 1904. Pp. 347 (8 by $5\frac{1}{2}$).
- L'Immaculée Conception.** Par R. P. J.-B. Terrien, S.J. Paris : P. Lethielleux. Pp. 180 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$). 1.50 francs.
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- Les Saintes et Divines Liturgies.** Par le P. Cyrille Charon. Beyrouth and Paris : Picard. 1904. Pp. 299 (6 by 4). 1s. $7\frac{1}{2}$ d.
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- Biblische Studien**, ix. Band, 4 Heft : Exegetisches zur Inspirationsfrage. Von Franz von Hummelauer, S.J. Freiburg : Herder. 1904. Pp. x.-129 (9 by $5\frac{3}{4}$). 3 Mark.
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Letters of Blessed John of Avila. Translated and Selected by the Benedictines of Stanbrook. With a Preface by Abbot Gasquet, O.S.B. Worcester: Stanbrook Abbey. 1904. Pp. iv.-168 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5).

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Summula Philosophiæ Scholasticæ. Vol. II.: Cosmologia et Psychologia. Dublinii: Browne et Nolan. 1904. Pp. vi.-423 ($8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 4s. net.

A Whittier Treasury. Selected by the Countess of Portsmouth from the Works of John Greenleaf Whittier. Manchester: Albert Broadbent. 1904. Pp. 147 ($6\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$). 1s. 6d.

Manuel du Latin Commercial. Par le Dr. Ch. Colombo. Paris: Lethielleux. Pp. 192 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$). 1 franc.

Le Millénarisme. Par Léon Gry. Paris: Picard et Fils. 1904. Pp. 144 ($8\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$).

Joy in All Things. By Henry Potter. Sydenham: Henry Potter. Pp. 34 ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by 5). 6d.

The Little Office of the Immaculate Conception. Translated by Edmund Waterton. New Edition. London: Burns and Oates. 1904. Pp. 23 ($6\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$). 6d.

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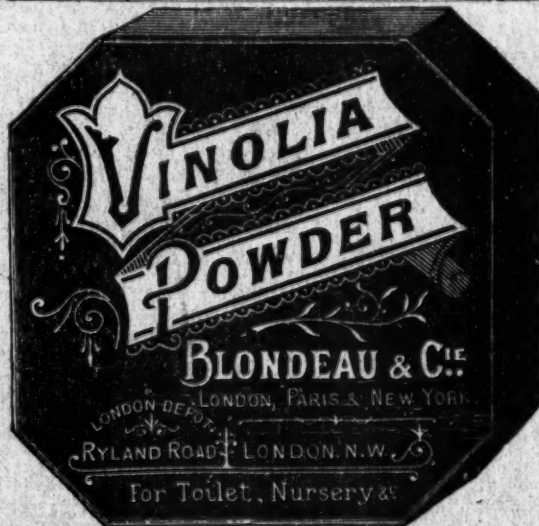
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